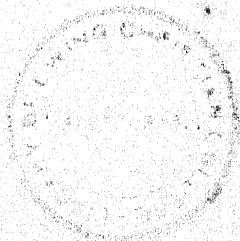


RELIGION RENOUNCES WAR

BY

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and Goodwill, Federal Council of the
Churches of Christ in America*



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TO
SIDNEY L. GULICK

WHOSE LIFE IS
THE EMBODIMENT OF THE PEACE IDEAL
WHICH HE HAS PROCLAIMED
WITH ELOQUENCE AND PERSUASION
IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD

PREFACE

Every day brings inquiries to my desk regarding the action taken by certain communions on the peace and war problem. One person will ask, 'What has the Methodist Episcopal church said about the League of Nations?' Another will ask, 'Has the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. said anything about conscientious objectors?' Still another will ask, 'What communions have said that the Christian religion and the war system are irreconcilable?' The present volume aims to answer these and kindred questions.

Religion is renouncing war. Thousands of Christian preachers and laymen are grounding their arms. They are saying that resort to war is contrary to the teachings of Jesus; that the churches should no longer bless war; that Christians should refuse to render unto Cæsar the things that belong to God.

I have endeavored fairly to interpret the peace policies of the larger and more influential religious bodies in the United States. The actions referred to are from the official pronouncements of the communions in question. Whatever interpretations are placed upon these resolutions and findings are strictly my own and are not to be construed as the conclusions of the interchurch body with which I have the honor to be associated.

It will be immediately obvious that I have not entirely covered the field. No attempt has been made to analyze the peace pronouncements of the Roman Catholic church in the United States. It need hardly be said, however, that this communion, through the National Catholic Welfare

Conference and the Catholic Association for International Peace, is effectively relating itself to the movement for world justice and fraternalism among the nations. It should be said too that the Central Conference of American Rabbis and other organizations of the Jewish faith are ~~doing~~ doing a commendable work in mobilizing the peace sentiment of their constituents. Nor have I made any extended reference to the peace commitments of such long-time pacifist bodies as the Mennonites, Friends and Dunkards. Their testimony is well known and their unflinching devotion to the cause of peace is hardly in need of any comment of mine. My main purpose has been to throw a modest light upon the heroic struggle now in progress among Christians everywhere to recast in the language of the twentieth century the pacifist witness of the early church.

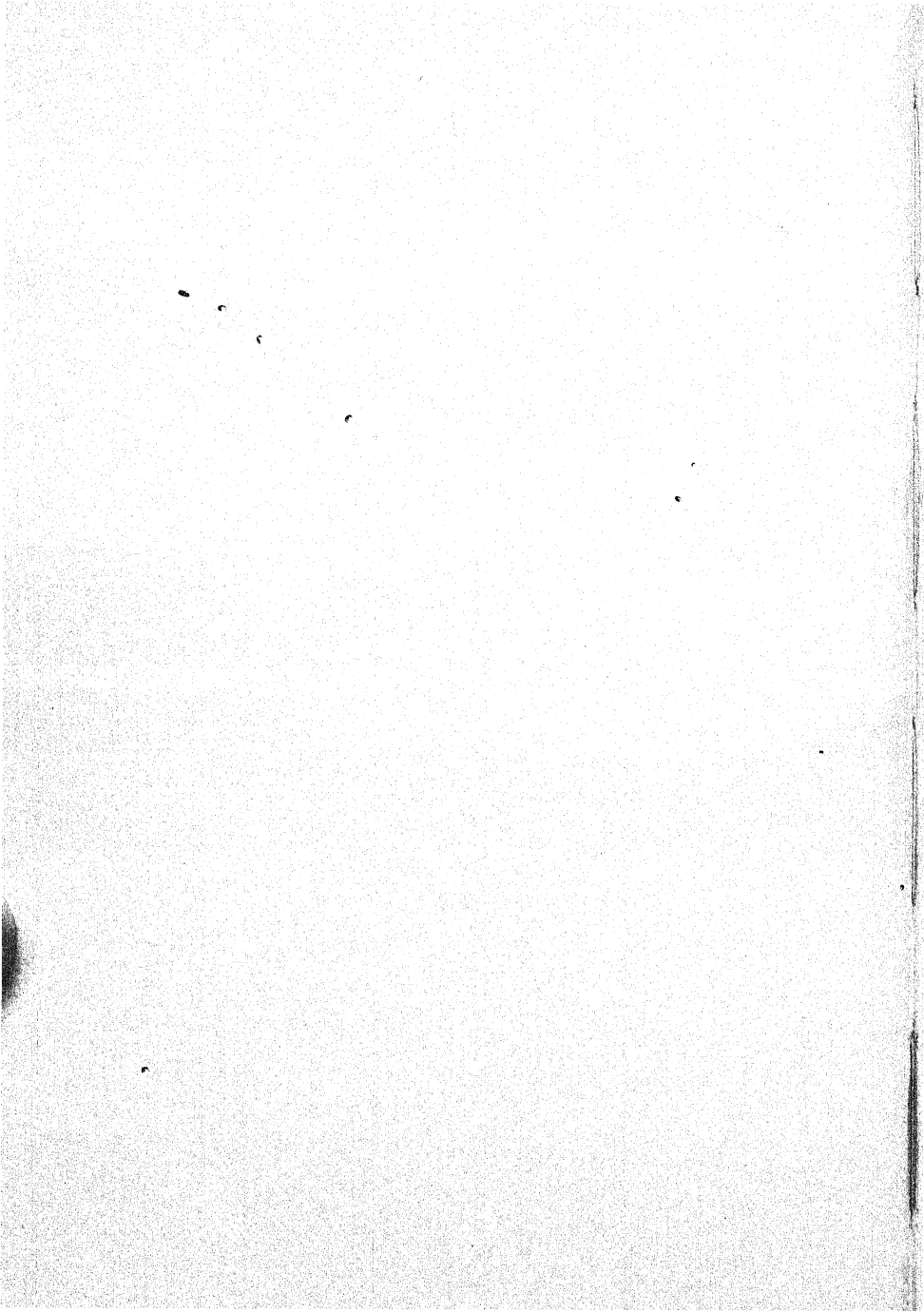
I am deeply indebted to a number of my colleagues in the Federal Council of Churches, including Samuel McCrea Cavert and Henry Smith Leiper, and to my former associate, Sidney L. Gulick, for their courtesy in reading the manuscript and for many valuable suggestions; to H. C. Engelbrecht for his criticisms of the chapter on 'The Churches and the Traffic in Arms'; and to Mrs. David S. Kane for her painstaking efforts in checking source materials.

W. W. V. K.

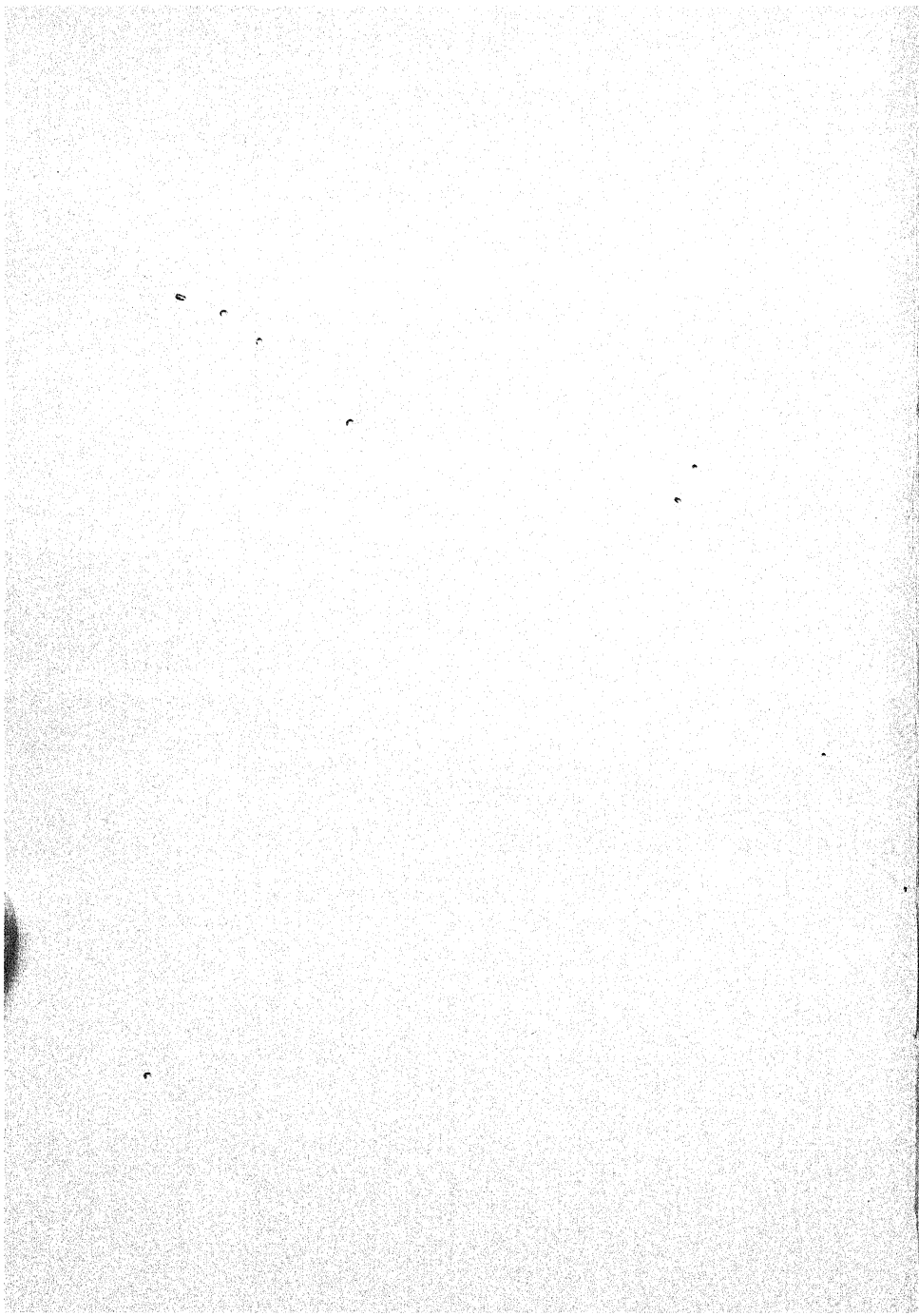
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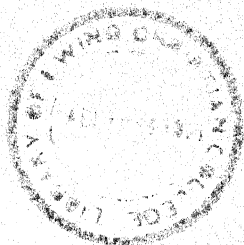
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RELIGION RENOUNCES WAR





CHAPTER I

CHRISTIANS PARTING COMPANY WITH CÆSAR

The Austrian government has decreed that the crucifix must hang in the barracks of the military. It is also announced from Vienna that a representation of the Virgin Mary is to be printed or embroidered on all the flags of the various regiments and squadrons. Cross and crucifix, battleflags and the Virgin's image are jumbled together by order of the Austrian government. Religious symbols have not infrequently graced the implements of military conflict. Many of the medieval war vessels of the Spaniards bore such names as 'The Blessed Virgin,' 'The Holy Ghost,' and 'St. John the Baptist.' In Florence, Italy, the tourist will find in the Bargello Museum a beautifully engraved cannon from the breach of which extends the head of St. Paul.¹ Not a few churches are all cluttered with busts of military heroes and flags besmirched with the blood of humans.

Laurence Stallings, in his remarkable photographic history of the World War, presents on one page three pictures under the general title, 'O God Our Help in Ages Past' — one a Russian Orthodox priest praying that divine guidance be given to the Russian soldiers as they went forth to battle; one a German pastor invoking the blessing of the Deity upon German arms; one an English churchman lifting his voice heavenward in a prayer that God's blessing might abide with the British as they engaged the enemy upon the western front.²

Ray H. Abrams, in his book, 'Preachers Present Arms,'³ lays bare the sin of the church's collusion with militarism. It is a sickening story of men called to be prophets sinking to the low level of acquiescence in a military madness that sent 10,000,000 soldiers and 13,000,000 civilians to their graves, that orphaned 9,000,000 children, that drove 5,000,000 wives and mothers into widowhood, that sent 10,000,000 refugees into the darkness of a merciless night. Mr. Abrams' recital of the military sins of the preachers has shocked the conscience of the church. And well it might!

It is not news, however, to be told that preachers have presented arms in support of war. It would, however, have been news during the first three centuries of the Christian era. Many of the Christians of that era refused to bear arms in Cæsar's armies; they refused to murder humans at the behest of the state and the early church fathers upheld the followers of Jesus in this regard. Marcion, who died in the latter part of the second century, insisted that war was contrary to the teachings of Jesus, while Origen, in the third century, declared that 'we (Christians) no longer take up sword against nation, nor do we learn war any more . . . for the sake of Jesus who is our leader.'⁴ Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian and Cyprian⁵ were of the opinion that Christians must not, under any circumstances, resort to war. Since the alleged conversion of Constantine to Christianity, however, preachers have borne arms. The history of the church's relation to war is the history of ecclesiastical apostasy.

The rush of the clerics for the military band wagon got under way in dead earnest when in 324 A.D. Christianity became the state religion of pagan Rome. The idea of the 'militia Christi,' intended in the beginning of the Christian era to convey the thought of resistance to war, now

became the ideology of a priestly acceptance of the war system. Preachers began at that early date to prattle about a 'holy war.' Soldiers of peace became soldiers of war. Occasional protests were registered by the more farseeing clergy against the abject surrender of the church to the military. Origen, condemning the spectacle of Christ in military uniform, declared that 'the Deity must be worshiped with clean hands.'⁶ Basil the Great, in 374 A.D., declared that 'though the soldier should not despair of his salvation, it were better that those who had been obliged to kill should abstain from communion for three years, for they were unclean of hand.'⁷ These, however, were only occasional voices. The church had gone into the war business, and the Council of Arles (314 A.D.) placed the stamp of ecclesiastical approval upon this priestly betrayal of the God of righteousness by declaring that 'they who throw away their weapons in time of peace shall be excommunicate.'⁸

During the intervening centuries it has been the same old story. Time and again clerics have unsheathed the sword. Time and again the church has degraded herself by becoming a recruiting office for the enlistment of soldiers. Time and again the prayers of Christendom have sought to invoke the aid of God upon the pagan slaughter of humans. Time and again the pulpit has paid obeisance to the God of war. Time and again church bells have been molded into cannons, bibles and prayer books have been thumbed as though they were guide books to military strategy, crosses and ikons have been carried into battle, clerical robes have been used to hide the hideousness of war, and clerical lips have pressed the kiss of death upon the cold steel of flashing bayonets. Roman popes, Orthodox priests and Protestant preachers, each in turn, have compromised Christ's gospel of peace and good

will. Leo I (d. 461 A.D.) was of the opinion that 'military service may be blameless,' while St. Augustine at the time of the invasion of Rome by the Vandals condoned participation by Christians in war. Martin Luther, in his eulogy of war, went so far as to say: 'For a soldier shall bear with him such conviction of conscience that he is obliged to do, and must do, this work, that he may be sure he serves God, and can say: "It is not I that smites, thrusts and kills, but God and my prince, whose servants are my hand and life." . . . So let every man be undaunted, admitting no thought other than that his fist is God's fist, his spear God's spear, and let him cry aloud with heart and voice, "For God and Kaiser!"' '9

Pope Leo's declaration that Christians might support 'just wars' and Luther's contention that the fist and spear of the militarist are to be regarded as implements blessed of God are examples of the rationalization process by means of which the Christians of these many centuries have justified their participation in war. Aided by the coöperation of the clerics, we must admit that we have been living for hundreds of years under an invisible but none the less powerful military despotism that for lust of blood is beyond description. In four short years we put ten million men under the sod. Human life, with us, is cheap, very cheap. Where our so-called pagan forbears slew their thousands, we slay our tens of thousands and our millions. Compared with ourselves, the half-clad natives of our primeval forests were novices in the art of killing. We talk a great deal about our culture. With pride we point to the spires of our churches, but our actions have too often belied our words. With our lips we have paid tribute to the inviolable sovereignty of human personality. But our hands have been sticky with the blood of our fellows.

Not since the absorption of Christianity by the Roman State have the churches generally defined in any authoritative way their attitude on war. Here and there a voice has been raised in protest against the partnership of the church in the war business. Occasionally certain communions, such as the Friends, Dunkards and Mennonites, have essayed to lift the church out of the gutter of militarism. With these few exceptions the churches have too often accommodated themselves to the waging of war. As long as they were unmolested by war the Christians preached a gospel of peace, but no sooner were the swords of the nations drawn than ecclesiastics became opportunists and goosestepped their way into battle.

So much for yesterday. Let the dead past bury its dead. What of the future? Will the church go on blessing war until her testimony is wholly secularized and her ministry wholly paganized? Or will the church provide the moral leadership required to put an end to the war business?

It begins to appear as though the unholy alliance between Christianity and militarism were being broken up. It is clearly seen that such vulgarities as lying, blood-letting, hypocrisy, blasphemy, animal lust, dishonor, exploitation, carnage, anarchy, lawlessness and mass murder are at all times associated with war and war making. Can Christians properly support a war system that so depraves mankind? Can preachers who are mandated to proclaim a gospel of love and reconciliation pronounce their blessing upon the military extermination of humans? The answers to these questions as reflected in the official pronouncements of various church bodies would seem to be a decided negative.

The command of the military heel-clickers that preachers present arms is beginning to fall upon deaf ears. It

may well be that the historian of the future will point to the present era as marking the time when Christians individually and collectively committed themselves to the pacifism of the early church. It can at least be said that resistance to the war system on the part of individuals and groups within the church has assumed such proportions as to alarm certain of the professional military. The Christian and the war maker are not lying down in peace together as they once did. Literally thousands of clergymen, and laymen too, are turning away from the war system. Hardly a day goes by that some churchman does not make public his renunciation of war. And many of these churchmen are among those who enlisted for military service in the World War.

Early in 1934 the editor of the *World Tomorrow*, Mr. Kirby Page, sent a questionnaire on peace and war to 100,490 Protestant ministers.¹⁰ The letter of inquiry was signed by twelve prominent churchmen: S. Parkes Cadman (Congregational), Harry Emerson Fosdick (Baptist), Edward L. Israel (Jewish), M. Ashby Jones (Southern Baptist), William P. King (Southern Methodist), F. H. Knubel (Lutheran), Francis J. McConnell (Methodist), John McDowell (Presbyterian), D. P. McGeachy (Southern Presbyterian), Kirby Page (Disciples of Christ), Daniel A. Poling (Reformed), William Scarlett (Episcopal).

Of the 20,870 ministers replying, 67 per cent expressed the opinion that the churches should not sanction or support any future war. Nearly 13,000 clergymen declared that they would not as individuals sanction any future war; 15,600 of these preachers affirmed their belief that the protection by the military of the lives and property of American citizens should be abandoned and protective measures confined to peaceful methods. Forty-eight per cent of the ministers replying urged immediate entry of

the United States into the League of Nations, and 29 per cent opposed such a step; 82 per cent expressed opposition to military training in high schools and colleges; 77 per cent favored reduced armaments by the United States regardless of the action of other countries; while only 36 per cent regarded the distinction between 'defensive' and 'aggressive' war as sufficiently clear to justify their participation in a so-called war of defense. On the question as to whether or not the churches should go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war the highest affirmative votes, according to denominational affiliation, are: Church of the Brethren, 96 per cent; Evangelical, 84 per cent; Methodist, 78 per cent; while the lowest affirmative responses are: Lutheran, 38 per cent; Episcopal, 50 per cent; Presbyterian, 57 per cent. The proportions declaring that they do not propose to sanction or participate in any future war are: Church of the Brethren, 95 per cent; Evangelical, 75 per cent; Methodist, 72 per cent; while the lowest votes on this question are: Lutheran, 33 per cent; Episcopal, 46 per cent; and Presbyterian, 51 per cent.

Seminary students, according to the *World Tomorrow* poll, are more pacifist in their attitudes on peace and war than ministers generally. Whereas 62 per cent of all ministers responding state that they will not sanction or participate in any future war, the comparable figure for theological students is 73 per cent. The proposition that the churches should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war is favored by 78 per cent of students as against a general average of 67 per cent. A larger percentage of students than of the older clergy favor reduction of armaments and abolition of military training in civil institutions of learning. Only 30 per cent of students are in favor of a military chaplaincy. Eighty-

one per cent of students favor the abandonment of armed intervention as compared with 75 per cent of the total, while only 22 per cent of students admit of any distinction between 'defensive' and 'aggressive' wars. The *World Tomorrow* sponsored a similar poll in 1931. The 1934 poll showed a slight increase in the numbers of those who believe that the churches should refuse to sanction any future war or to serve as armed combatants. Similarly, a slightly smaller percentage than in 1931 are ready to serve as chaplains or to serve in 'defensive' war but not in a war of 'aggression.'

The cynic will scorn this devotion to the peace ideal on the part of preachers, many of whom participated in war less than a score of years ago. But the refusal of an ever-increasing number of church leaders to sanction war cannot be disposed of in this brusque manner. It is not argued that every churchman who preaches pacifism today would practice pacifism tomorrow in the event of war. Not all of them would. The conscienceless propaganda of a state bent upon making and winning a war would doubtless paralyze the moral backbone of more than one of the preachers who are now opposing war. Even when liberal allowances are made for such cases, it still remains true that pacifism is sweeping through the church today as it has not done for centuries.

Seldom a church conference is convened that does not brand war for what it is — a colossal sin against God and man. Read the records of the church gatherings of the past ten or twelve years. Preachers and laymen have taken a solemn stand against war; they have denounced the arrogance of a state that would deny to the individual the right of conscience; they have attacked compulsory military training; they have demanded a drastic reduction of the world's armaments; they have insisted that nations

limit their military budgets; they have spoken in plain language about the traffic in arms and munitions; they have supported legislation looking toward the placing of an embargo on the shipment of arms to nations violating their peace treaties; they have urged full coöperation by the United States in the development and strengthening of the world's peace machinery; they have deplored the policy of intervention by the United States in the internal affairs of other states; they have insisted that all military aviation be immediately abolished; they have stated that religion and the church must not be nationalized. Between the lines of these resolutions there breathes the spirit of a rugged resistance to the whole war system. Again the cynic will say that these resolutions are mere scraps of paper, subscribed to by spineless preachers and laymen in a moment of high emotion, only to be ignored when the bugle blows. The cynics scorn, but it is to be noted that professional patrioteers have manifested a nervous concern over this rising tide of pacifism in the ranks of the church. Preachers have been called 'slackers,' 'cowards,' 'reds,' and the American Legion at one of its national conventions called for a Congressional investigation of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

This peace crusade of the churches emerges from the conviction that war is absolutely contrary to the preaching and practice of Jesus; that the killing of men upon the field of battle is mass murder; that the dropping of bombs upon defenseless women and children is a piece of ghastly paganism; that the spreading of poison gas and disease germs in the prosecution of war is crucifying Christ afresh.

What evidences are there that the churches are washing their hands of war? The answer to this question will be found by contrasting Luther's eulogy of war with the following affirmations of a large number of church bodies,

each one of which is taken from the record of official church pronouncements. 'We believe that war is wrong, being contrary to the principles of the Prince of Peace.'¹¹ 'War is not now an inevitable integral part of civilization, but rather the supreme enemy of mankind, and the greatest means for the destruction of civilized society the world has ever known. Its futility to settle any international disputes is beyond question, and its continuance will guarantee the ultimate suicide of all civilizations, and therefore the whole barbarous war system should be permanently outlawed.'¹² 'We record our conviction that war is contrary to the mind of the Christ; that the continuance of civilization demands its entire elimination and that it is the duty of all Christians and all churches to find a Christian way to meet international situations which threaten war.'¹³ 'War as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ.'¹⁴ 'International warfare and the gospel of love and brotherhood which we profess are incompatible. The methods used and the passions aroused by war both outrage Christ's conception of a kingdom of God in which men shall trust, love and forgive one another.'¹⁵

These are strong statements and there are more of them. 'War has become the supreme enemy of mankind.'¹⁶ 'We, too, "renounce war as an instrument of national policy."'¹⁷ 'As stated by the last Lambeth Conference: "War, as a method of settling international disputes, is incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ. We believe that as the Christian conscience has condemned infanticide and slavery and torture, it is now called to condemn war as an outrage on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of all mankind."'¹⁸ 'War is contrary to the spirit and teachings of Jesus

Christ.’¹⁹ ‘We repudiate the theory, and all its implications, that God favors resort to war, and we affirm that the Christian’s God is forever against the war spirit and the war system. God does not permit war. . . .’²⁰ ‘War is unchristian. We have glorified war and made warriors our heroes. Up to the present time we have worshiped military force. The time is here when we must decide which of these traditions shall prevail — whether the cross or the sword shall be our symbol; whether we will worship Christ or Mars, for both cannot prevail together.’²¹ ‘The war system of the nations is the outstanding evil of present-day civilization. It is the most ominous antichristian phase of modern life.’²² ‘War is a denial of the basic principles of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man . . . a violation of the Christian religion.’²³ ‘We see in war’s cruelties, made more terrible by modern invention, not only a menace to civilization but also a definite challenge to the followers of the Prince of Peace.’²⁴ ‘War is essentially and inherently a supreme violation of the teachings and spirit of Jesus . . . as a method for securing national ends, however just and right, is antichristian.’²⁵

Still other denominational and interchurch bodies are letting the world know what they think of war. ‘War denies the fatherhood of God, scorns the brotherhood of man, mocks the sacredness of human life, is merciless to helpless women and children, uses falsehood, ignores justice, releases the passions, and cultivates hate. War means everything that Jesus did not mean, and means nothing that he did mean.’²⁶ ‘With startling clearness we now see that war, in its spirit and modern practice, is the negation of everything to which the gospel of Jesus bears witness.’²⁷ ‘We no longer can believe that war as a present and future method of settling difficulties is justifiable from

any human or Christian standpoint.' ²⁸ 'War is the supreme social sin, and so long as the war system is maintained there can be no safety for our homes or for our civilization and no realization of the kingdom of heaven on earth.' ²⁹ 'We once more express our conviction that war is contrary to the spirit and teachings of Jesus; we are opposed to war as a method for the settlement of international disputes.' ³⁰ 'The method of settling the disputes of nations by war is contrary to the teachings of Christ.' ³¹ 'We assert our solemn judgment that warfare as an instrument of national policy, or as a means of settling disputes between nations should be renounced. Such warfare, undertaken to further national policy, and without recourse to judicial arbitration or other means of peaceful settlement, is a crime on the part of a nation, and so to be held by followers of Christ, who has commanded us to make disciples, not enemies, of the peoples of the world.' ³² 'We reaffirm the conviction stated by the General Convention of 1922, that the nations of the world must adopt a peace system. It is fundamental to such a system that it be built on the conviction that war is unchristian in principle and suicidal in practice.' ³³ 'We believe that war is contrary to the spirit of Christ and the gospel of love and brotherhood which we profess. It violates the Christian ideal of mercy, justice, truthfulness, self-control, virtue and righteousness. Christ taught men to love, trust, forgive and help one another. The church should never allow herself to be used to prepare for war or make war; but rather to promote peace, foster love and eliminate suspicion and fear. While we recognize the rightful authority of civil government and the important place it occupies in the present order of society, yet it is the conviction of many Christians that it is inconsistent for them as followers of Christ to participate in or sanction war as a means of

settling international disputes or controversies.'³⁴ 'We believe that war is unnecessary and that, under modern conditions, it is futile and suicidal. Our fundamental conviction is that war is sin. This is the logical conclusion which follows the pronouncements of the General Conference, but its full import does not yet possess the mind of the church at large. We believe that war is sin because it involves (a) the slaughter of human beings, (b) violation of personality, (c) lying propaganda, (d) deliberate breeding of the spirit of hate, (e) vast destruction of property, (f) it puts in the place of moral law the doctrine of military necessity, (g) it distorts the religion of Jesus into the religion of a war god.'³⁵

Many city and state councils of churches are expressing convictions on the peace and war problem that make unpleasant reading for those who believe that an occasional war is a good thing for mankind. The Ohio preachers have this to say: 'We hold war to be unchristian. The church should completely disassociate itself from the war system.'³⁶ The State Pastors' Conference of Oregon has stated its creed of peace in the following language: 'War, being in its very nature, not alone alien, but entirely irreconcilable to the spirit and ministry of Jesus Christ, and by the experience of humankind proved utterly futile as an instrument for the settlement of international problems and controversies, we declare without reservation against this antiquated and unchristian process which destroys life's choicest values and denies our faith in God and man. We would add our unwavering voice to the protest of the followers of the Prince of Peace everywhere against this enemy of the noblest and most Christlike elements of our civilization, and pledge our unqualified support to every agency of church and state established for the achieving of an enduring peace.'³⁷ The Pennsylvania

preachers who attended one of the recent annual sessions of the Pennsylvania Council of Churches pronounced war 'a deadly sin.' 'Whatever may have been the necessity or justification for war in other times or under other conditions, we believe that in these times and under these conditions war is an unforgivable sin against civilization, against humanity, and against God. . . . Because of the utter moral collapse in the conduct of war; because of the astounding development in all the machinery and weapons of war; and because modern war involves whole peoples in its death grip — we believe another world war would threaten the very existence of civilization itself.' Therefore, in the light of the larger knowledge we have of the deadly menace of modern war and the deeper understanding we have of the application of the principles of Jesus Christ to the whole social order, we must pronounce war a deadly sin.' ³⁸

Christian youth, too, is taking a stand against war. Such organizations as the Epworth League, the International Society of Christian Endeavor, and the Baptist Young People's Union have been rallying the young people of the churches to give their moral support to anti-war movements. The young Baptists ³⁹ believe 'that the present practice of settling national differences by war is at variance with the faith and practice of the spirit and fellowship of Jesus Christ.' This union of Baptist Young People's Societies has also commented on the futility and the pagan nature of war insisting that 'war is essentially un-Christlike.' ⁴⁰ The Christian Endeavorers, at their biennial International Conferences, never fail to take a strong stand against war. These young people have declared their opposition to the observance of a 'Mobilization Day.' They have deplored naval and military maneuvers 'executed at such places and in such ways as to

awaken the minds of other nations as to the peaceful intentions of the United States.' ⁴¹ They have called for a genuine and far-reaching reduction of the world's armaments; they have called for participation by the United States in the world's peace machinery; they have described war as 'hideous, indiscriminate, and wholesale slaughter.' ⁴²

The Epworth League of the Methodist Episcopal church shares with the General Conference of this communion the conviction that 'the agencies of our church shall not be used in preparation for war.' In their summer institutes thousands of Methodist youth study the problem of peace and war. The *Epworth Herald*, the weekly publication of the Epworth League, has a strong editorial policy on peace and kindred themes and its editor is frequently under the fire of the 'hundred per-centers.'

The Christian Youth Council of North America, made up of representatives of the youth sections of many denominations, has stated that Christian youth should refuse to participate in war or in preparations for war. The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the council: 'In view of the absolute renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy by the signatories of the Pact of Paris, we urge the youth of these nations to refuse to participate in any phase of military activity and to give their energies to the furtherance of pacific methods for the settlement of international disputes.' ⁴³

Three years later, in 1934, the Christian Youth Council, at its Lake Geneva Conference, reaffirmed its pacifist convictions while thirty-one of the delegates subscribed to the following pledge: 'Since we believe that war is diametrically opposed to the teachings of Jesus, we affirm that in the event of war positive action must be taken to prevent the continuance of war. Since human life is of the great-

est value in the teachings of our religion, and since war is terrifically destructive of human life, *any* effective means of opposition to war, short of the actual taking of life, or the endangering of life, is justified. Our stand may be branded as illegal. But we believe that our highest loyalty is to Christ, and that any acts of government which run counter to his fundamental teachings are themselves wrong. Therefore we pledge ourselves not only to refuse to participate in war, but to actively oppose it by means of the general strike, destruction of war materials, and spreading of counter propaganda.'

Various forms of pledges are being used by youthful pacifists within the churches. The Young Men's Club of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York City, has issued the following anti-war declaration: 'I have quietly considered what I would do if my nation should again be drawn into war. I am not taking a pledge, because I do not know what I would do when the heat of the war mood is upon the country. But in a mood of calm consideration I do today declare that *I cannot reconcile the way of Christ with the practice of war*. I do therefore set down my name to be kept in the records of my church, so that it will be for me a reminder if war should come; and will be a solemn declaration to those who hold to this conviction in time of war that I believe them to be right; and I *do desire with my whole mind and heart that I shall be among those who keep to this belief*. I set down my name to make concrete my present thought upon the question of war, and declare my purpose to think and talk with others about it, that my belief in the way of Christ shall become operative in this and in other questions which now confuse our thought and action.'⁴⁴

Youthful Presbyterians are being asked to pledge themselves not to participate in war. The Department of

Young People's Work of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. is promoting the distribution of the following pledge: 'I believe that the way of Christ cannot be reconciled with the way of war. Therefore, as a Christian, I propose to follow loyally the way of Christ for the cause of peace. I believe that the solution of all international disputes should be sought only by pacific means. Therefore, as a citizen, I propose to support my country in its renunciation of war and to oppose the participation of the United States of America in any future war.'

In northern California there is a group of Methodist young people known as 'The Christian Peace Movement of the California Conference Epworth League.' Their declaration is as follows: 'Believing that loyalty to our country can best be expressed only by absolute loyalty to God and humanity, that one expression of this loyalty is the propagation of peace, that war is inhuman, futile and contrary to the teachings of Jesus, I, as a member of the Christian Youth Peace Movement of the California Conference Epworth League, refuse to prepare for or participate in any war. I will educate myself and others, using every means within my power, for the advancement of peace.'⁴⁵

In Kentucky, at a young people's conference of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., 95 per cent of the 253 delegates and leaders took the following pledge: 'I believe in the fatherhood of God, the God who is the author of all life, the creator and sustainer of all men. I believe in the brotherhood of man as taught by Christ, who is the elder brother of all humanity, the prince of peace, the Lord and savior of us all. I believe in the sacredness of human life, that God has put all men on this earth and that I have no right to take my brother's life but am to love all

men and to desire their good above all else. I further believe that war is the denial of the fatherhood of God, brotherhood of man and the sacredness of human life and is contrary to every principle of life which Jesus Christ enunciated. I believe that I personally cannot engage in war without violating my Christian obligations and thereby surrendering my right to citizenship in the kingdom of God.' ⁴⁶

The young people of our churches participated in a general way in the recent poll of American undergraduates on the peace and war problem. This poll, widely commented upon by the press and assailed by many of the professional patrioteers, revealed a strong tendency toward pacifism. Thousands of these students declared that they would not, under any circumstances, participate in war.

Practically all of the student conferences which have been convened within recent years by the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations have taken a strong pacifist position. This revolt of the undergraduate body against war really got under way at the Indianapolis convention of the Student Volunteer Movement in 1924. Ever since that time pacifist sentiment has been increasing among the young people on our college campuses and more particularly among those who are studying for the ministry. The National Conference of Theological Students, some years ago, went on record 'expressing its conviction that war is unchristian and a denial of Jesus' way of life. It believes that war is an ineffective and futile way of solving difficulties between nations or peoples. It believes that a higher patriotism to the United States and to humanity demands not only the refutation and abolition of war but also as a conference refuses to sanction or lend its support in any future war.' ⁴⁷

It would be impossible to enumerate here the many instances in which youth has sought to mobilize the conscience of Christian thinking people in support of anti-war movements. They have circulated petitions, participated in study conferences on the peace problem, and joined peace caravans. They have written essays on peace. They have declaimed on peace. They have applauded the statements of James Green, of the Intercollegiate Disarmament Council, who warned the statesmen assembled at the World Disarmament Conference that youth was sick and tired of being used as cannon fodder for no loftier purpose than to serve the ends of stupid, stumbling politicians.

The case for pacifism among our Christian youth must not be overstated. There are doubtless tens of thousands of the young people of our churches who have only a casual, if any, interest in the peace and war problem. There are other Christian youth who are not yet persuaded that war and the religion of Jesus are irreconcilable. What this book aims to do is to analyze the trend toward pacifism now manifesting itself within the churches. It is not too much to say, therefore, that Christian youth is evidencing an unprecedented purpose to get the churches out of the war business.

Within late years the religious press has been outspoken in its antagonism to war. It would be impossible within the compass of this volume to quote at length from the utterances of church editors regarding the folly and sin of war. We will accordingly content ourselves with reference to an editorial declaration of the *Christian Century* which reflects the prevailing mood among many of the more forward looking of religious editors: 'The church shall acknowledge the fundamental and eternal contradiction between war and Christianity; that the very fact of

war shouts the failure of Christianity; and that the church therefore cannot bless war without surrendering its character as Christian. The church's clear duty, therefore, is to excommunicate war, deliberately and solemnly to say, and so to inform the state, that the state may never again expect to receive the resources of the church . . . as aids of any war in which it may ask its citizens to engage.'⁴⁸

Eminent Christians are proclaiming the utter irreconcilability between war and the gospel of Jesus. Many of these preachers are publicly stating that they are through with the whole war system, and that they will not participate in any future war. Listen to Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick: 'I hate war. I hate war because I have seen it. I hate war for what it does to our own men. I have seen them come in freshly gassed from the front line trenches. I have watched the long, long trains loaded with their mutilated bodies. I have heard the raving of those who wanted to die and could not. I hate war for what it forces us to do to our enemies, slaying their children with our blockades, bombing their mothers in their villages, and laughing at our breakfast tables over our coffee cups at every damnable and devilish thing we have been able to do to them. I hate war for its consequences, for the lies it lives on and propagates, for the undying hatreds it arouses, for the dictatorships it puts in the place of democracies, and for the starvation that stalks after it. I hate war, and never again will I sanction or support another.'⁴⁹

Dr. Theodore Ainsworth Greene,⁵⁰ one of the leading younger pastors of the Congregational Church, states the case in this way: 'I maintain, in the light of my commitments as a minister of Christ and my convictions as an American, a human being and a citizen of the world, that I am unalterably opposed to war henceforth as a means to the settlement of international disputes, both

for my country and all others; that I will bend every effort in my power to educate the people of my parish and my fellow citizens in the issues of war and peace as they may arise; and that, in the event of another war in which the United States shall participate, I shall refuse to bless war or to bear arms (the Pact of Paris standing now beside the Constitution of the United States as part of the highest law of the land) unless persuaded otherwise by factors not now foreseen, nor likely to occur, the only possible exception being the actual invasion of the United States at home by enemy forces by land, sea or air after and in the event of failure of all honorable efforts by the United States to settle said disputes by all existing processes of law and not war.'

Dr. Ernest F. Tittle⁵¹ accepts for himself the pledge taken by the members of the English War Resisters League: 'War is a crime against humanity. I am therefore determined not to support or take part in any war, international or civil'; while Dr. Henry H. Crane⁵² says: 'So help me God, I will never bless, sanction, nor participate in another war! How do I know? I don't. I simply assert the deepest conviction of my being — while I am still sane, emotionally stable and utterly sincere. Should another war come, I might go. I'm all too fallible, weak and capable of cowardice. That's why I want to go on record *now*. So that, should I go, no one shall salute me, eulogize me, nor attempt to glorify me. Rather, they must *hiss, revile and condemn* me for what I should be revealing myself to be: a moral coward, a propagandized puppet, a mob-minded murderer, a world traitor, a Christ crucifier.'

One of the more prominent of today's youth leaders, Dr. Harry Thomas Stock,⁵³ expresses his pacifism in the following language: 'The method and spirit of war negate essential Christianity. As one who seeks to follow Jesus'

way of life I cannot consent to any program which perpetuates war, nor can I participate in any campaign of organized murder. Moreover, it becomes an inescapable duty to join with others in aggressive but Christlike opposition to those governmental policies and those propagandistic schemes which inevitably lead to war.'

Here is a voice from the Unitarian church and the voice is that of Dr. John H. Lathrop:⁵⁴ 'As I understand it, the heart of the gospel of Jesus was a new way of life which substitutes the positive force of good will for the age-old reliance upon brute force. I believe in this gospel with fanatic ardor, and will propagate it under all conditions and circumstances, and in its name will oppose to my utmost war of any sort either threatened or in process, at any cost to myself that such effort may entail. I will have nothing to do, even in the remotest way, with any war, and I am convinced that the only hope of the world lies in the direction of the new way of life.'

John Nevin Sayre,⁵⁵ an Episcopalian, offers the following testimony of his purpose to abstain from war: 'From 1915 onwards I have opposed all resort to the method of war and refused my personal assistance to war and war preparation. No matter how just may be the aims of any particular war, the method of its prosecution under modern conditions inevitably calls for mass murder, mass propaganda of lies and hatred, mass coercion of conscience. Out of these evil methods a good result will not come. The teaching of Jesus, contemporary historical evidence and the inner demands of conscience all combine to produce my attitude of war refusal.'

Still another Episcopalian, Dr. W. Russell Bowie,⁵⁶ says: 'Since 1917 my detestation of war has increased. I cannot foresee circumstances in which I should defend, encourage or have part in any war.'

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr,⁵⁷ a churchman with an eager youth following, says: 'I will refuse to participate in any international war on pragmatic grounds. Another war will be suicidal to our civilization, and it will be caused by the fact that the Western nations are maintaining a social system which makes the kind of economic reciprocity upon which peace must be based impossible. For this reason I will refuse any kind of participation in the next war.'

Dr. Ralph W. Sockman⁵⁸ says: 'While a man always makes himself vulnerable by announcing in times of peace what he would do in the emergency of threatened war, nevertheless I feel strongly that ministers of religion especially must make such a stand. I cannot see how I could reconcile my personal participation in any future war with my profession of the pulpit. I am determined that I shall not lend myself to this war business which denies the whole basic program of Christ.'

Dr. William E. Lampe⁵⁹ declares that he is through with war. 'War is unchristian,' he says, 'and, even when called defensive, is unpardonable. I shall never again have any part whatever in any war, be the consequences what they may.'

'War from start to finish is unholy,' says Rev. Cameron Parker Hall, minister of Christ Church (Presbyterian), New York City. 'It has its roots in an unholy international order. In itself it is a denial of truth and love. And its fruits are a peace built upon unholy foundations. I believe that the time has come for those who assume the responsibility of being Christians in this modern world, to expose the roots of war in time of peace, and to withhold their support of war in time of war.'

A former bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church, Dr. Frederick B. Fisher,⁶⁰ has the following to say regarding war and the war system: 'Drastic resistance to the

whole war technique is essential, including even military establishments for defense. The reaction against war must be so sincere and so dynamic as to produce a powerful social mass movement that springs up out of the very soul of human necessity. It will then include personal capacity for suffering, imprisonment, deportation, and every sort of political ostracism or persecution. War has been dramatized by powerful empires and raised to a superstitious pageantry. The disciples of peace and co-operation must now passionately dramatize the superior technique of passive resistance, civil disobedience (even to refusal to pay taxes), and coöperative conference. Believing this I could never again sanction or participate in any war, even of so-called defense.'

Still another Presbyterian minister, Rev. Robert M. Russell,⁶¹ says: 'I could not give my moral support to another war because as a Christian minister I am of the firm conviction that the salvation of the world rests upon man's obedience to all the laws of God and believe that these laws are benevolent and creative. Therefore, I have no faith in any destructive agency that it can add even a little to the progress of humanity toward either a better material or spiritual life.'

A widely known Christian youth leader, E. Fay Campbell,⁶² expresses his pacifism in these words: 'The Christian faith in the power of love can be applied rather simply to the problem of war. No war, either between nations or between classes, can be Christian. I cannot assist in the killing of either my brothers among the Chinese or Russians, or my friends among the "privileged classes," without violating my confidence in the Christian law of aggressive good will. Therefore I do not hesitate one moment to align myself with those who will not support any future

war. I stood in that group in 1917 and hope to be there throughout life.'

'When we turn to the teaching of Jesus,' says Dr. S. Parkes Cadman,⁶³ 'no Christian supporter of armed conflict can produce a single principle, word or act of the Master to prove his case. The cross itself is the massive and eternal example of non-resistance. A nation or an individual may take up arms for numerous reasons; fear of invasion, economic expediency or patriotism among them. But never again for the reason that the Christian faith demands it can the trumpets of war justly summon believers to their call. Christianity and war cannot mix. The attempt to blend them in 1914 demonstrated their incompatibility.'

Dr. James A. Crain, director of the peace program of the Disciples of Christ, says: 'I refuse to participate in war because modern warfare means the massing of the total population of one nation for the purpose of destroying the total population of another nation. Warfare is no longer confined to the armed forces, but the farmer who is urged to produce added quantities of food stuff, the seller of war bonds, the munition workers, the Y. M. C. A., Salvation Army and K. of C. workers, the medical officers and the chaplain are, in the larger sense of the word, just as truly combatants as the men who fire the rifles. No man can now take refuge behind the plea that he is willing to do non-combatant work in the army. In warfare we are all combatants and the only logical position left for the dissenter is open opposition.'

The pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, says: 'There is no way of reconciling the principles of Christianity with the practice of war, so far as I can see. I was in the midst of

preparation to become a teacher of history when the war broke out, and went, with my unthinking generation, into service. I can wear the distinguished service medal, and was decorated by the French army for service in the front zone, so that I feel I have a right to speak from the standpoint of both history and experience. I can see no justification for a Christian (or, for that matter, for anyone who worships a God whom we think of as a universal Father) which would allow participation in the war system. It seems to me inevitable that any honest and intelligent Christian must make his choice. Knowing the disrepute into which the church fell in the estimate of my generation because it was, with few exceptions, so spineless in the last war, I have no desire to get a sentimental enrollment of those who in peace say that they will not go to war. I do believe that the time has come for those who have seen what the war will cost, and who are willing to pay the price, to declare that there is no conceivable circumstance which could ever again lead them to have anything to do with another war, and I have searched my own mind and heart deeply enough to feel sure that, as for me, I am through with war.'

A prominent Baptist clergyman, Dr. William S. Abernethy, pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., says: 'Believing thoroughly that war is unchristian, altogether useless and utterly destructive of every good thing in life, I stand with my government in my determination never to have part in the settlement of international difficulties by other than peaceful means. I have definitely made up my mind that I cannot support nor have part in any future war of aggression, nor will I support my government if any national boundary line is crossed with intent to kill or destroy. Should the occasion arise when I feel that my country is in danger from invasion I reserve the

right to determine my course of action when such emergency arises.'

Bishop Ralph S. Cushman of the Methodist Episcopal church, resident bishop of the Denver area, asks and answers the following question: 'Why do I declare that I will not participate in war? Not only because of the lesson of history that war has always failed from the Christian point of view, but, as followers of Jesus, it is high time for us to dare to trust his philosophy that love and kindly dealing are more certain instruments of conquest and progress than hate and force and guns.'

The occupant of the famous pulpit of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, Dr. J. Stanley Durkee, says: 'War between nations, today, is nothing else than authorized, wholesale murder. There is no excuse for it before God or man. It but advertises the brute in man and declares that man is still a brute. As one man I refuse to be classed as a brute. To me war is outlawed. I will not sanction it, nor participate in it.'

Dr. Frederick D. Kershner, dean of the College of Religion of Butler University, subscribes to the following statement: 'Before the outbreak of the World War, I became convinced that armed conflict between nations is irrational, immoral and unchristian. I held to this position unflinchingly throughout the war and still adhere to it. Under no circumstances will I approve or participate in any future war.'

One of the more prominent of the younger Episcopal clergy, Dr. W. Appleton Lawrence, rector of Grace Church, Providence, R. I., says: 'Because I was young and had faith in the motives of men and the promise of governments, it is true I did what I could to help win the war I was told was "a war to end war." But I never intend to bless another. I have kept the government pam-

phlets sent me as a constant reminder of the subtleties of propaganda and the phrases of war makers.'

Dr. Morgan Phelps Noyes, pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church of Montclair, New Jersey, expresses his pacifist convictions in the following language: 'I am in accord with those who maintain that security is a fundamental need in international relations, but I believe that real security can be achieved only through disarmament and more courageous, sacrificial friendship than any nation has yet shown toward any other. Any war which might arise in the future, whether called offensive or defensive, would bear witness to the failure of the participating nations in that regard. I believe that it is the task of the church to teach that peace can be maintained only by heroic friendships rather than by guns, and to refuse to participate in or sanction future wars, which are inevitable only so long as selfish nationalism masquerades as patriotism. Ten years ago I came to the conclusion that as a Christian I could never support another war, and the intervening years have strengthened that conviction.'

The president of the Chicago Theological Seminary, Dr. Albert W. Palmer, says: 'I take my stand these days on the Kellogg pact. I have personally renounced war as an instrument of national policy and approve of the settlement of international disputes only by pacific means. More than that, I am seeking to promote a widespread signing of a Personal Non-Invasion Pledge by Christian people everywhere in which, reserving the right of self-defense by such means as each individual may feel to be in accordance with his conscience, we definitely pledge ourselves not to invade anybody else's homeland or cross any border with hostile intent.'

Dr. Paul Scherer, pastor of the Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, New York City, says: 'I believe that war is

antichristian, and there are no "buts." As a means to anything, neither rationally nor as one who tries poorly enough I know to be a follower of the Nazarene, do I give it my sanction. I believe profoundly that there is always another way. I believe that undiscourageable good will is not only my best defense but the Master's law for life, the only thing that has any chance of redeeming the world. And in that creed may God give me the grace to die.'

A clear-cut refusal to fight in any future war comes from the pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Pasadena, California, Dr. Merle N. Smith. 'I am through with war—all through with all war,' says Dr. Smith. 'I would be loyal to my country and to Christ. If my country forces me to choose, I will be loyal to Christ.'

Bishop George Craig Stewart, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Chicago, says: 'War I abhor; I regard it as definitely unchristian, irreconcilable with the spirit of Jesus Christ, and indefensible on economic and political as well as on moral grounds. It has been definitely denounced and outlawed by more than fifty nations by solemn covenant and I believe that all Christians should unitedly insist that this covenant be upheld.'

It is not claimed that these churchmen are representative of churchmen generally. These men speak only for themselves. There are a considerable number of preachers for whom the problem of peace and war does not exist at all. It can be said, however, that the testimony of the churchmen herein quoted is representative of the thinking of an ever-increasing number of those who occupy the pulpits of our churches.

The missionaries, too, are dissociating themselves from the war system. Certain mission boards have implored the government to withhold military protection

from those missionaries who feel that their labors of evangelization are hindered by 'gunboat policies.' The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions has petitioned the United States government, through the Department of State, 'that it make possible for the missionaries of the American Board who desire to live outside the concessions, legations and other "protected areas" to be given only such diplomatic protection as may be provided without the use, threat or show of military force and by such methods only, as will promote good will in personal and official relations.' ⁶⁴

This position was supported word for word by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal church. Similar action has been taken by the United Christian Missionary Society, the General Mission Board of the Church of the Brethren and the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions. The Foreign Missions Conference of North America, with which prominent missionary leaders of many communions are identified, has expressed its judgment that 'the use or threat of foreign military force for the protection of missionaries is in general a serious hindrance to missionary work, and effort should be made to secure for those missionaries desiring it the privilege of waiving their right to such protection.' ⁶⁵ Informal conferences on this question have been held by mission board executives with representatives of the Department of State.

In certain instances the chaplaincy has been severely criticized by those who would remove all vestiges of the military from the office and function of churchmen who minister to the man in the service. The Kirby Page questionnaire, previously referred to, revealed the fact that 8,600 churchmen stated that they could not con-

scientifically serve as an official army chaplain on active duty in war time.

The executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches has instructed its Department of Research and Education to make a study of the office and function of the chaplain. The Church Peace Union has taken similar action. The *Christian Century* for years has been carrying on a vigorous campaign against the chaplaincy. The Detroit Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church has the following to say upon this subject: 'Our church having renounced the war system, we urge the resignation of our clergy from the office of chaplain in the army and navy. A chaplain is an officer, subject to military discipline, and his loyalty is to the commands of his military superiors. We desire to minister to the needs of soldiers and sailors, but we must serve as civilians.'⁶⁶ Two other annual conferences of the Methodist Episcopal church have taken a strong stand against the chaplaincy as a military office. The statement of the Newark Annual Conference follows, in part: 'Resolved, That we of the Newark Annual Conference, in keeping with the spirit and action of the General Conference (of the Methodist Episcopal church) and our own action, respectfully request that hereafter the presiding bishop of any given session of this annual conference refrain from appointing any member of this conference to the post of chaplain in the United States army or navy.'⁶⁷

The New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church has requested the Federal Council of Churches 'to perfect a plan and provide leadership for our various Protestant denominations whereby there may be effected, in coöperation with the proper governmental authorities, a Protestant chaplaincy to be supervised

through a board or a department of the Federal Council.' In explanation of the functions of the proposed board the New England Conference said: 'This board would decide upon such matters as salaries, quotas, placements and duties. Salaries would be paid from the funds supplied by the support of the various denominations. The chaplains would wear serviceable uniforms of such design and color as to distinguish them from men of the military system. Under such plan there will be no military rank as now exists, and the chaplains would be amenable to the church. By thus freeing the chaplaincy the church would sever an important connecting link which now exists between the church and the military machine, while at the same time the church would be able to serve in the name of Christ many thousands who have entered military service.'⁶⁸

The Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Episcopal church adds the weight of its influence to the efforts now under way to place the chaplain upon a strictly civilian basis. 'While the church should be willing to minister to human need wherever it exists,' the commission says, 'no Christian should consent to serve as a military or naval chaplain, since chaplains are an official part of the war machine, subsidized by the government and subject to the dictates of military authority. We propose that the next General Conference enact legislation looking toward the withdrawal of Methodist ministers from the chaplaincy and making provision, under church subsidy and control, for the pastoral care of men serving in any branch of the armed forces of the United States.'⁶⁹

* The Evangelical church longs 'for the day when the office of chaplain in both the army and navy of all countries will be a real missionary task of the church and thus remove it from the pay rolls of political governments.'⁷⁰

The likelihood is that the churches will have more rather than less to say upon this aspect of the peace problem within the next few years.

It is doubtful if anywhere in the annals of the church there can be found a more determined attack on war than is contained in the official pronouncements of the churches of Christ in America which have been adopted during the past ten years, to say nothing of the pacifist utterances of preachers and the editors of the religious press. Christians are no longer subscribing to Luther's thesis that the fist of the war maker is God's fist. On the contrary, Christians are saying that war is absolutely irreconcilable with the religion preached and practiced by the Son of God. The indictment of war in which so many of the church bodies in the United States have concurred may be summed up in the following declaration by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America: 'We believe that war is contrary to the spirit of Christ and incompatible with the gospel of love and brotherhood which we profess. It is the most colossal and ruinous social sin that afflicts humanity. The methods used and the passions aroused by war outrage Christ's conception of a kingdom of God in which men shall trust, love, forgive and help one another. We see in war's cruelties, made more terrible and devastating by modern scientific progress, not only a menace to civilization, but also a repudiation of the Prince of Peace.'⁷¹

The revised Social Ideals of the Churches, adopted by the Federal Council of Churches in 1932, include a statement on peace and war from which we quote the following: 'The war system is inconsistent with all Christian ideals. In war, mercy, righteousness, justice, truthfulness, self-control, coöperation, are abandoned or practiced only toward friends. Religion should no longer sanction war.

While works of spiritual ministry and relief of human suffering are at all times the duty of the church, the institutions of religion should never again be used as agencies of warfare. The social ideal, based upon the brotherhood of man and the sacredness of personality, should be consistently applied in international as in other human relations. Religious bodies should henceforth use their utmost influence in the support of such programs and policies as will make for justice, good will and peace between nations.'

The churches, however, are not stopping with a mere denunciation of war. If war, as many Christian groups are saying, is 'a colossal and ruinous social sin,' there can be only one course open to the churches — a refusal any longer to give to war and the war system the support of organized religion and a declared willingness on the part of official church bodies to extend moral support to conscientious objectors. The churches, increasingly, are doing this. They are insisting that religious organizations should not be used as agencies for the promotion of war. Many church bodies are taking a strong position with respect to war resisters and in certain instances conscientious objectors to military training are being assured of the moral support of the church. Let us read again from the record.

'We must loathe war and hate war, and strip it of all its falseness and glamour and let it stand forth in its unveiled hideousness,' say the Methodists of the South.⁷²

One of the most pronounced stands against war was taken by the 1934 Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. The resolution adopted by this body reads as follows: 'In view of the prevailing dangerous war psychology among the nations, their spirit of self-seeking nationalism and war-provoking programs of armament

expansion, in the name of Christ and country (the assembly) declares anew its break with the entire war system.' The assembly then went on to say: 'We proclaim our adherence to the following principles of faith and of policy, calling upon the churches to make unmistakably clear to their constituencies and to the world at large: (a) That God in Christ has broken down "the middle wall of partition" that separated the races and nations, and that it is incumbent upon all who profess the name of Christ to frown upon and disavow all that is a barrier to free and friendly intercourse between the races and nations of mankind; (b) That Christians owe an allegiance to the kingdom of God that is superior to loyalty to their own country, and that in any matter in which the laws of their country conflict with the commands of God, they must assert their duty and right "to obey God rather than men;" (c) That Christians cannot give their support to war as a method of carrying on international conflict.'⁷³ Still another step was taken by this assembly designed to place the Presbyterians of the North on the side of peace. This body of churchmen said: 'As a practical means of preventing war, or, in the event of war breaking out between other nations, of preventing our own nation from becoming a combatant, the General Assembly directs its Board of Christian Education to make available to our pastors and other leaders blank pledges to the following declaration, a record of subscriptions to which shall be sent from time to time to the President and the Congress and a duplicate kept in the records of the board: "I will not cross the borders of any nation except in friendship, nor will I support my country in such action."'

The Northern Baptist Convention has commended to the people of that communion the following pledge: 'Re-

serving the right of national self-defense by such means as may seem to be wise, effective and Christian, I, from now on, definitely repudiate all aggressive war. I will cross no national boundary line to kill and to destroy, nor will I support my government in sending its army or navy to do so.' ⁷⁴

The General Council of Congregational and Christian Churches recommends that its newly created Council for Social Action 'take a plebiscite of our denomination to determine the mind of our people along the general line of the following four propositions or others: (a) I will support any war declared by my government; (b) I will support war only if convinced the government has done everything possible to prevent it; (c) Reserving the right of national defense by such means as seems to me most effective and in accordance with my conscience, I further pledge not to cross the boundary of my country to invade any other person's homeland to kill or destroy; (d) I am determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil.' ⁷⁵ The General Council at the same time invited other denominations and the churches of other lands through the Federal Council of Churches and the World Alliance to consider taking similar plebiscites to reveal and record the mind of the church regarding war. Coming then to its own specific responsibility the General Council resolved 'that the cleavage between the way of Jesus and the system of war is clear. We of this council are convinced that we must now make this declaration, "The church is through with war!" We of this council call upon the people of our churches to renounce war and all its works and ways and to refuse to support, sanction or bless it. The mind of our church has moved to this solemn conviction.'

'We affirm our unflagging opposition to the war system.

We purpose as Christian citizens living in a democracy to exert our influence among our fellow-citizens and upon our government toward the realization of a warless world,' is the way the preachers of the Reformed Church in America ⁷⁶ express themselves, while the delegates to the 1932 conference of the Reformed Church in the United States affirmed their faith 'in the possibility of creating a warless world. Men who are possessed of God need not forever submit to the belligerent habits of past centuries. We repudiate the theory, and all its implications, that God favors resort to war, and we affirm that the Christian's God is forever against the war spirit and the war system.'

The House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal church, in a recent pastoral letter,⁷⁷ declares that 'The cross is above the flag,' and adds, 'in any issue between country and God, the clear duty of the Christian is to put obedience to God above every other loyalty.'

The moderators and high officials of thirty denominations recently made public a statement entitled, 'The Present Crisis as a Summons to Spiritual Advance.'⁷⁸ After deploring the clashing international interests of the nations and the swollen armaments of rival powers, these churchmen said: 'If others surrender to the necessity of war, we the more must see clearly and say boldly that the spirit of war and the spirit of Christ can never be reconciled and that we do not hesitate which to choose.'

To this swelling tide of opposition to war the United Brethren church adds its voice: 'We believe that the Christian churches have a vital part in the overthrow of war and the establishment of friendly relations among the people of the world, and that they cannot escape this responsibility if they are true to the call of Christ.'⁷⁹

'The day is here when the Church of God should speak

out in no uncertain way against all aggressive militarism throughout the world,'⁸⁰ say the United Presbyterians, while the Friends bear witness to their pacifist faith in the following: 'We oppose as a religious body all participation in war and believe that no more patriotic service in any nation can be rendered than to save that nation and others from war.'⁸¹

Here is a voice from the South: 'If the peoples of the world shall become deeply imbued with the spirit of peace and resolutely determine to renounce war and to refuse to engage in war our present civilization may be saved from suicide.' Who uttered these words? Communists? Imported radicals? Revolutionary aliens? No. These are the words of the preachers and laymen who attended the 1933 gathering of the Southern Baptist Convention. Here is an ecclesiastical assemblage of Southern churchmen openly and proudly proclaiming the principles of pacifism, and championing the idea of resistance to military service. Still another denominational assembly of the South, the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., declares that 'the church should never again bless a war, or be used as an instrument in the promotion of war.'⁸²

A strong position on peace was taken by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church in 1928. 'The agencies of our church,' said the Methodists, 'shall not be used in preparation for war. They shall be used in preparation for peace.' Literally interpreted this resolution means that Methodist churches, in the future, will not be used either as recruiting stations nor as centers for dissemination of military propaganda. It means that 'service flags' will be adorned with stars commemorative of the members of that communion who refuse to accept military service in war time. That this is true was made

plain by the Methodist General Conference of 1932 which said: 'We believe it to be the duty of the churches to give moral support to those individuals who hold conscientious scruples against participation in military training or military service.' At the same time it was resolved to 'petition the government of the United States to grant to members of the Methodist Episcopal church who may be conscientious objectors to war the same exemption from military service as has long been granted to members of the Society of Friends and other similar religious organizations.' The membership of the Methodist Episcopal church is somewhat over four million. It can easily be seen that if a considerable number of these church members subscribe to the views promulgated by the General Conference, the peace program of the church will have been strengthened at what heretofore has been one of its weakest points.

The World Peace Commission of the Methodist Episcopal church, too, after characterizing war as 'sin,' said: '... it follows that no Christian should engage in any war for any purpose or give to it his sanction or approval. This means that a Christian should refuse membership in any military organization whose purpose is the training of men to kill their fellow-men or propaganda in support of the idea of military preparedness.'⁸³

The Church of the Brethren declare that 'the followers of Christ cannot take part in destroying the lives of men whom God has created in his image and likeness. God is love and we believe that his children should overcome evil with good. We further believe that our allegiance to the will of God transcends all commands, orders or mandates incident to the will of man where the voice of conscience and faith have been made subject to the demands of men.'⁸⁴ Another pacifist church body, the Philadelphia

Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, says: 'The relationship of nation to nation, of race to race, of class to class must be based on the divine law of love, if peace and progress are to be achieved. We believe in those principles, not as mere ideals for some future time, but as part of the eternal moral order and as a way of life to be lived here and now. War is a colossal violation of this way of life. If we are true to our faith we can have no part in it.'⁸⁵

The Evangelical Synod of North America has gone as far as any denomination in its moral repudiation of war. 'We will not,' the synod says, 'as a Christian church ever again bless or sanction war. We make this declaration of abstention as a Christian communion and do not intend it to bind individuals unless and until they accept it personally. We do mean it to commit our church to the fundamental proposition that to support war is to deny the gospel we profess to believe.'⁸⁶

Two interdenominational bodies, the Council of Women for Home Missions and the Home Missions Council,⁸⁷ in a joint statement, described war as 'official murder' and said: 'We are firmly convinced that until the Christian nations abolish official murder as a means of settling disputes, we shall progressively fail in commending Christianity to the other peoples of the world. The Christian church must lead in the abolition of war or prove itself inadequate to the needs of the world today and tomorrow.'

A straight-out declaration in support of the principle of non-resistance was adopted by the Ohio Pastors' Convention in 1932. 'We are convinced,' these Ohio clergymen said, 'that war is unchristian, futile and suicidal, and we renounce completely the whole war system. We will never again sanction or participate in any war. We

will not use our pulpits or classrooms as recruiting stations.' Renunciation of war and education for peace is called for by the Pennsylvania Council of Churches. 'The Church,' the council says, 'must speak with no uncertain sound upon the sin of war. . . It is the responsibility of the church of today to see to it that the next generation, which will have even a larger responsibility than this one for the creation and maintenance of peace, faces that responsibility with the fullest knowledge of the facts involved and with ideals and character commensurate with its task.' ⁸⁸

The National Conference on the Churches and World Peace at Columbus, Ohio, in 1929, made up of the representatives of thirty-five communions and allied religious organizations, took a strong position in support of the pacifist position in the following affirmations: 'We hold that the church, the body of Christ all inclusive—transcending race and national divisions—should henceforth condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, should support the state in renouncing it, and should insist that responsible statesmen shall conduct the policies and procedures of the state in harmony with the spirit, the pledges and the intent of the pact. We therefore hold that the churches should condemn resort to the war system as sin and should henceforth refuse, as institutions, to sanction it or to be used as agencies in its support.'

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, at its quadrennial gathering in 1932, officially went on record as believing 'that the agencies of our churches should never again be used in preparation for war, but should be used in the promotion of peace.' 'The Church of Christ,' declared this interdenominational body, 'as an institution, should not become an instrument for

the fostering of international suspicion and hatred. It should not sanction war nor bless it. To support war is to deny the gospel we profess to believe.'

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In the spring of 1934, when war talk was prevalent in many parts of the world and armaments were being increased in the United States and elsewhere, the Federal Council of Churches, the American Section of the Universal Christian Council, and the American Section of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches adopted a "Message to Christians of All Lands from which the following is taken: 'We send our fraternal greetings to the Christians of all nations. Speaking for ourselves, we are determined to live at peace with our Christian brethren of other lands as we know they are determined to live at peace with us. We would assure our fellow-Christians that we have not yielded and will not yield to the mood of martial hysteria which threatens to engulf the whole world. We are for world justice and peace and good will. We do not and will not subscribe to the discredited assumption that military force provides security against war. We are not in favor of the program of naval expansion now being sponsored by our government. We desire that the Christian thinking people of every nation shall know that this is so. However much the good faith of other nations may be questioned by certain of our people, we desire to make clear to our fellow-Christians everywhere that we have faith in them as we desire them to have faith in us.

'We believe that the churches of Christ around the world should with all possible dispatch say to their respective governments that they cannot and will not give their moral support to war as a method of settling international difficulties, nor will they become a party to the mad race in armaments now in progress in so many parts

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of the world. It seems to us that in this hour it is the clear duty of Christians everywhere to declare their undivided allegiance to Him whose we are and whom we serve.

'We believe that the hour has come when all Christians should unite in urging the nations to make renewed effort to resolve existing international differences and misunderstandings on a peaceful basis. We cannot and will not believe that the peoples of the world desire that a relatively small number of persons shall precipitate an international crisis that would seem to make inevitable resort to military violence. The vast majority of the peoples of the world desire to live in peace with one another. Let them say so and say so in such a way that their witness will be heard in the chancelleries of the nations.'

This message was transmitted to the heads of church bodies in the United States and other countries and was favorably commented upon by the religious press in many lands.

The churches are on record. Almost without exception official ecclesiastical bodies have categorically declared that war is unchristian and that resort to war is contrary to the preaching and practice of Jesus. These resolutions have not always been adopted by a unanimous vote nor can it be said that statements adopted in assemblies or conferences reflect the thinking of all of the adherents of the communions in question. The peace pronouncements of the churches are to be interpreted in the light of these facts. It can be said, however, that the corporate mind of the churches in America has been fairly expressed in the affirmations of the preachers and laymen who have not hesitated to say that war is unchristian and that the church should not be used as an agency in the support of war.

When the Federal Council of Churches, in 1932, declared that the church as an institution should neither sanction nor bless war, there were only one or two dissenting voices among the four hundred delegates representative of the twenty-five communions adhering to the council.

It would seem therefore that the government, in the event of another war, will have to get along without the moral support of many of our larger and more influential church bodies. The government, as far as these particular church bodies are concerned, will have to get its propaganda before the public in ways other than through the pulpit. The government will have to do its own recruiting, its own glorifying of war, its own regimenting of the public conscience. The churches, in the main, have clearly stated that they are no longer to be regarded as allies in the business of killing and maiming humans. The preachers are grounding their arms, they are washing their hands of the blood of their fellows, they are parting company with Cæsar.

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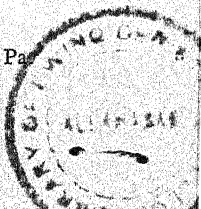
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- ⁵⁴ Pastor, First Unitarian Congregational Society, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- ⁵⁵ Executive Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation.
- ⁵⁶ Rector, Grace Church, New York.
- ⁵⁷ Professor, Union Theological Seminary.
- ⁵⁸ Pastor, Christ Church, New York.
- ⁵⁹ Secretary, executive committee, General Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States.
- ⁶⁰ Pastor, First Methodist Episcopal Church, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- ⁶¹ Pastor, Larchmont Avenue Presbyterian Church, Larchmont, N. Y.
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CHAPTER II

THE CHURCHES SPEAK THEIR MIND ON THE CAUSE AND CURE OF WAR

The churches are not so naïve as to believe that world justice and peace will be consummated simply because a number of preachers and ecclesiastical assemblies have renounced war. The churchmen who are grounding their arms are not vague, impractical and irresponsible idealists. They are dreamers, to be sure. Through the eyes of faith they see the dim outlines of a new and better civilization. They do not believe that war is inevitable. They do not subscribe to the thesis of Major General Ernest Hinds that 'There will be another war just as sure as the sun rises in the East.'¹ They scorn the declaration of General Smedley D. Butler, who recently said: 'We don't want any more wars, but a man is a damn fool to think there won't be any more of them.'² They regard as wholly pernicious the statement of Colonel Frederick G. Knabenshue that 'War is a dreadful thing — that is true, but our nation will never change and there will be another war again.'³ They believe that General von Bernhardt was mad when he said: 'War is a biological necessity of the first importance, a regulative element in the life of mankind which cannot be dispensed with, since without it an unhealthy development will follow, which excludes every advancement of the race, and therefore all real civilization. . . .'⁴ Nor do they endorse the philosophy of pessimism proclaimed by Field Marshal Count von Moltke who affirmed

that 'war is an element in the order of the world ordained by God.'⁵

Thousands upon thousands of churchmen are taking their stand against this gospel of an unashamed and blatant militarism. They are speaking their mind on the causes and cure of war. They know that the cure of war is to be found in removing the causes of war. The leaders of the peace movement among the churches include among the causes of war the following: economic imperialism and social injustice; the lack of an adequate machinery of peace; and the widespread prevalence of racial and cultural antagonisms. It is also believed that before world justice and peace can prevail armaments will have to be drastically reduced and an effective curb placed upon the war-provoking activities of armament manufacturers.

The preachers and laymen who are grounding their arms are wide-awake to the fact that the war system is closely geared into the complex socio-economic framework of modern society. It is believed that if the war system is to be uprooted it will be necessary to modify the economic maladjustments which in the past have set nation against nation. To this task a large number of churchmen are dedicating themselves. They know that economic competition between nations is a cause of war. Nations, mindful only of their own interests and of the economic advantage of their respective citizens, have extended the arm of government to the ends of the earth. These arms are possessed with hands having itching palms. Industry and government have engaged in a fevered quest for gold, markets, raw materials and economic power. This national search for financial prestige and economic advantage has been conducted at times with a ruthlessness and vindictiveness that beggars description. Governments, egged on by their respective industrialists, have gone in

for land-grabbing and to this end they have sent their military forces over the seas and across the deserts. This land-grabbing stage of economic imperialism, however, is practically a thing of the past. The habitable areas of the globe have been pretty well carved up, first by one nation, then by another. The industrial and commercial struggle for territory has been superseded by a different but no less vicious struggle—the skirmishing for business and the maneuvering for raw materials and foreign markets. This brings us to the era of economic imperialism. And in economic imperialism there will be found one of the most prolific causes of military conflict.

An extended discussion of national and world economy would not be in order here. The average churchman is familiar with the essential facts in the case. There may have been a time when preachers knew, or thought they knew, a great deal more about the next world than about the present one. That day has gone. A vast number of churchmen, while they do not pretend to understand all of the varied and complex ramifications of our present-day policies of economic imperialism, do know that these policies lead to trade wars, exploitation of undeveloped resources in backward countries, tariff barriers, and military protection of foreign investments. They know, too, that out of these things wars emerge. They know also that economic imperialism has for its purpose the perpetuation of a profit-seeking capitalism. They know that the masses who do the fighting and dying and rotting upon the battlefields have little, if anything, to gain by the continuance of this system. They know that excessive tariff barriers produce economic anarchy upon a world scale and that mighty military establishments have been and are still being maintained in order to give protection to this

vast program of over-seas economic expansion. They know that gigantic navies are projected to insure the perpetuation of this sort of thing.

It is for these reasons that churchmen who are concerned for the peace of the world are delving into the economic causes of war. 'We recognize,' say the 124 representatives of the thirty-five communions and allied religious organizations attending the Second National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, 'that it has long been the practice of the great powers to intervene with armed force in backward regions in order to protect the lives, property and interests of their citizens; the United States, for example, having intervened by force in Latin America thirty times within thirty years. This policy of intervention has frequently resulted in prolonged occupation and sometimes in annexation. Notwithstanding the many benefits derived by the peoples of the occupied regions, the system of intervention has been accompanied by such grave abuses and such ruthless exploitation that its perpetuation must be regarded with genuine concern.'⁶

Military intervention for the protection of foreign investments represents a policy which is rapidly falling into disrepute among a large number of churchmen. For these religious leaders the flag has no business following the dollar, nor do they intend any longer to preach that sort of patriotism. 'We hold,' said the National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, 'that the government of the United States should adopt and declare the policy that, when its citizens go abroad to engage in business, or when they invest capital in foreign enterprises, they are expected to abide by the laws of the country in which they are doing business, and to assume any risks involved; and that, while it will seek to safeguard their per-

sons and property by pacific means, it will not intervene with armed force on their behalf.' ⁶

The churchmen who made this statement recommended that armed intervention by the United States be abandoned in favor of such policies as denying recognition to governments that come into power by violence; refusing to make loans to potential belligerents; refusing to sell arms and munitions with which to wage war; and bringing collective diplomatic pressure to bear upon nations bent upon making war. In short, this particular study conference recommended to the churches the following specific proposal: 'Advocacy of the abandonment of the policy of armed intervention by one power on its own authority for the protection of the "lives, property, and interests" of its citizens in foreign lands, and the substitution of non-violent measures collectively administered.' It was also urged that the churches 'promote such public opinion as will aid in creating and strengthening appropriate international agencies through which collective agreements may be reached concerning raw materials, markets, trade routes, foreign investments and other economic problems.' ⁶

A year later, at Evanston, the National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace made the following affirmation: 'We believe that diplomatic means and not armed intervention should be employed for the protection of the lives and property of the United States citizens in foreign countries. We hold that United States citizens who go abroad or who invest their capital in enterprises in foreign countries should look for protection to the laws and governments of these countries, assuming any risks which this may involve, and that they should not expect the United States government to intervene with armed force on their behalf. It is our conviction that the policy

of armed intervention in any American country by the United States should be abandoned. If situations should arise which seem to demand intervention by outside nations, we believe the United States should take the initiative in inviting other nations concerned into conference regarding the situation, with a view to pacific adjustment.' 7

These National Study Conferences on the Churches and World Peace are not to be regarded as possessing an official ecclesiastical status. Their pronouncements reflect the thinking only of those individuals who participate in the deliberations of these gatherings. The conclusions reached by these churchmen were transmitted, however, to the heads of the various denominations and they have doubtless influenced the thinking of a vast number of clergymen and laymen. The chairman of the Evanston conference, held in 1930, was the Rt. Rev. G. Ashton Oldham, prominent Protestant Episcopal bishop, and the vice-chairmen were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, nationally known Baptist preacher, and Mrs. Thomas Nicholson, wife of a now retired bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church. On the advisory council of the National Committee on the Churches and World Peace, under whose auspices these study conferences are convened, will be found such well-known church leaders as the Honorable Florence E. Allen, President Clarence Barbour, Dr. Robert C. Dexter, Dr. Samuel A. Eliot, Dr. Frederick L. Fagley, Dr. L. O. Hartman, Dr. Stanley High, Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, Professor Rufus M. Jones, Dr. Paul S. Leinbach, Bishop M. T. Maze, Bishop William F. McDowell, Dr. William P. Merrill, the Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons, Dr. Daniel A. Poling, Dr. Paul de Schweinitz, Dr. J. Ross Stevenson, the Honorable William E. Sweet, Dr. E. F. Tittle, the Honorable George W. Wickersham and Dr. Mary E. Woolley.

The Protestant Episcopal church is convinced that among the causes of war 'is a narrow and aggressive nationalism which ignores the rights of other nations in the determination to assert its own. Nations exist by the will of God, not for self-aggrandizement, but for service, and, their true honor lies not in the extent to which they can impose their yoke on other nations, but on the value of their contribution to the moral and spiritual ideals of the world. . . .' Still another cause of war, in the judgment of the Protestant Episcopal Convention, 'lies in economic competition and especially in the competition for the control of the raw materials of industry. Commerce ought to be and often is a bond of union between nations, but unrestricted competition and excessive trade barriers may be causes of war. The chief corrective of this danger lies in the recognition of the economic interdependence of nations in the modern world.'⁸

Self-seeking economic imperialism is deplored by the Reformed Church in the United States and this church urges 'the replacement of selfish imperialism by such disinterested treatment of backward nations as to contribute the maximum to the welfare of each nation and of all the world.'⁹

The abandonment of all policies of military protection of foreign investments is called for by the American Unitarian Association. In 1932, prior to the convening of the presidential political convention, this association recommended the adoption by all parties of a political platform embracing the principle of 'protection of the persons and property of nationals in foreign countries by pacific means only.' They also asked for a political plank calling for 'participation by our government in international conferences on economic problems of vital importance to world recovery, such as debts and reparations, tariffs, currencies

and farm products.'¹⁰ The Church of the United Brethren in Christ believes that 'our position of power and strength in the economic world should cause us to be exceedingly careful that we do not in defense of what we regard as our rights, or the rights of our citizens, oppress and wrong other weaker nations and peoples. We believe that, as a Christian people, our citizens going into foreign countries to conduct business and invest their capital should be willing to abide by the laws of their adopted countries, and that only peaceful methods should be resorted to by the government of the United States in the protection of such business men.'¹¹ The American branch of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches holds that 'our government in its efforts to protect American interests abroad should also insist that American investors carrying on commercial and industrial enterprises in other countries must recognize that such investments are subject to the laws of the country in which they are made.'¹²

Changed trends of thinking among preachers are reflected in these resolutions. Wars, it is recognized, do not just happen. Men and nations do not fight because of inherent deviltry. Wars are now seen to be, in part, the by-products of a world economy premised upon the assumption that markets, tariffs, trade routes and 'spheres of influence' are worth fighting for. Increasingly the churches are being urged to study the questions arising out of our business and commercial relations with other nations and to work for the removal of the economic causes of war. The Federal Council of Churches suggests 'that our churches study the economic policies of nations from the standpoint of the Christian ethic, including the question of military protection of investments in foreign countries,'¹³ while the National Study Conference on the

Churches and World Peace holds that 'since economic factors are primary causes of international suspicion and hostility and frequently lead to war, the churches should engage in the most serious study of such vital problems as foreign investments, war debts, raw materials, tariffs, armed intervention for the protection of property, and the whole question of the economic and political control of foreign peoples.'¹⁴

In the light of the changed attitude among many of our Christian thinking people it appears to be extremely doubtful if, among the churches, support will be given in the future to any war that may be prosecuted by the government for the purpose of protecting the financial investments of our citizens in other lands. 'Dollar diplomacy,' so far as many of our churches are concerned, is a thing of the past. If there are patriots who desire to bare their breasts to the fire of enemy guns for the preservation of the property rights of a few capitalists, it is their privilege to do so, but the more farseeing of our churchmen do not propose and will not become a party to any such military jamboree. Nor is the protection of trade routes, thousands of miles away from the shore line of our territorial domain, regarded by these churchmen as the proper business of the United States navy. The churches are in the sublime business of establishing upon the earth the kingdom of God and there is no place in such a kingdom for the forfeiture of human life upon distant battlefields for the protection of private capital. No amount of flag waving or of military hysteria will suffice to persuade the preachers and laymen who have grounded their arms to take up these weapons again for the perpetuation of an economic barbarism out of which so many wars of the past have emerged.

Looked at from still another angle, it should be observed

that many church bodies feel that nations in the interest of peace must now abandon their policies of economic isolationism. They see in these policies the seeds of war. The Northern Baptist Convention 'emphatically favors the abandonment by the United States of an isolationist policy which does not reflect the true and higher attitude of the American people, and favors with equal emphasis a farseeing, and, if necessary, an unselfish effort of its government to coöperate with other nations in solving the world's great problems,'¹⁵ while some years later this same convention urged our government 'to seek the solution of the problems of international trade and commerce through international agreements seeking the common good of all.'¹⁶

The convening of the World Economic Conference in 1933 was hailed by many churches as the occasion when practical application should be given to a good neighbor policy as between nations. The Federal Council of Churches, rejoicing in the fact that the United States was to be represented at this international gathering, said: 'We hope that this conference will boldly deal with *all* the economic issues that are causing international difficulty, suspicion and hostility. As the economic causes of international friction are removed, the danger of war becomes increasingly remote and the possibility of drastic reductions of armaments correspondingly great.'¹⁷ In a similar vein the delegates attending the Southern Baptist Convention called for the negotiation of 'international economic agreements.'¹⁸

The failure of the World Economic Conference has occasioned deep disappointment among those churchmen who have been urging a cessation of the economic war that has been in progress for decades between the nations. This disappointment is matched, however, with a determination

to labor even more intensively for a 'planned economy' of world dimensions.

Subsequent to the breaking up of the World Economic Conference the American branch of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches roundly condemned the tendency of nations to persist in their policies of economic nationalism. 'In its economic forms,' the alliance says, 'extreme nationalism has tended to become almost universal, partly through the influence of self-seeking private interests in the boom period, partly through the frantic efforts of national governments to save themselves in the world depression. To what disasters this obsession, if persisted in, will drive the world, is not yet fully clear. Extreme economic nationalism is more than a barrier to the exchange of goods, the maintenance of financial stability, and the free intercourse of men. It is an incitement to imperialism, conquest and war. It is itself a subtle and insidious form of war. Even more malignant are the symptoms of diseased nationalism in its acute form, persecuting minorities, demanding territorial expansion, seeking economic gain by ruthless commercial warfare or even by force of arms, fostering militarism and glorifying war.'¹⁹

In a similar vein the Federal Council of Churches declares its conviction 'that reciprocal tariff agreements should be negotiated by the United States with other nations and that the United States in coöperation with other governments should deal with all the economic issues that are causing international difficulty, suspicion and hostility, with a view to removing the causes that make for war.'²⁰

These statements clearly express the convictions of a growing number of preachers and laymen who believe that the seeds of future wars are being sown by those who would commit their respective governments to policies of

economic nationalism. Hence the concern of churches in such matters as tariff barriers, trade rivalries and the race for raw materials.

Closely allied to the general world economic situation, in the thinking of many churchmen, is the question of the war debts. Looked at from the standpoint of their bearing upon the problem of peace these debts are held by many of the leaders of our churches to be the cause of international irritation and hostility. The Federal Council of Churches, after months of intensive study of this question and in the interest of international good will, urged a revision downward of these war-time obligations. In replying to an 'Appeal for the Remission of Reparation Payments and International War Debts,' addressed to Christians in their own and other lands and signed by more than fifty Christian leaders of the major church bodies in England, the Federal Council of Churches said, in part:

'In approaching the question our primary interest as Christians is to release in the life of the nations the spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation to which the Christian gospel summons us and which is the supreme need of the world today. We are all at one in our conviction that the emphasis should be placed chiefly not upon legal claims but upon the coöperative effort of all to find solutions productive of the largest common good.

'We are further agreed that in the present world distress and turmoil the Christian church must lay special stress upon its teaching of the oneness of the human family and the interdependence of nations. Patriotic motives should be guided and controlled by motives of Christian brotherhood. True patriotism will seek the well-being not only of one's own nation but of mankind.

Human personality and its development through fellowship among all peoples constitute a primary concern of the Christian churches.'

The governing body of the Federal Council of Churches frankly admitted that 'within our constituency there is as yet no complete agreement as to the practical solution of the problem. Some are convinced that the United States should on moral as well as on economic grounds accept full cancellation. Others hold that the debts should be paid in full, believing that such obligations cannot be set aside without undermining the basis of confidence between governments. . . .' The committee then goes on to say:

'Whatever may be the theoretical justification for paying reparations or war debts, the existing world situation renders attempts to continue them on their present basis futile and harmful. What we urgently need is to restore mutual confidence and to set in motion again the currents of trade. For this the administrative committee believes that a revision downward both of war debts and of reparations is essential. We believe that, in common with other nations, the United States should be prepared to accept a new settlement.

'New war debt agreements, however, should be accompanied by assurances on the part of the debtor nations that the money thus remitted will not be spent directly or indirectly for increased war preparations. . . .

'In taking this stand we look earnestly to the day when nations no less than individuals shall be truly Christian in their mutual relations and attitudes, shall recognize that they are members one of another and shall be ready in a spirit of brotherhood to bear one another's burdens.'²¹

Many church bodies have taken a position consistent with that of the Federal Council of Churches. These include: the General Conference (1932) of the Methodist Episcopal church, the General Synod (1932) of the Reformed Church in America, the General Synod (1932) of the Reformed Church in the United States, the General Conference (1932) of the Seventh Day Baptist church, the American Unitarian Association (1931), and the American branch of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches (1930).

The resolution on war debts adopted by the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America is fairly representative of the thinking of a large section of the Christian church. 'Recognizing that there is a wide diversity of opinion relating to the payment of reparations and war debts,' the Synod said, 'we believe that these matters must be approached in the spirit of brotherly conciliation and mutual concern. As followers of Christ we feel that any emphasis must be placed not wholly on the legal aspects of the question but rather on securing a coöperative effort to find solutions which will be productive of the largest good. We here call to mind our Lord's instruction: "Love thy neighbor as thyself," the parable of the Good Samaritan, the duty of forgiveness until "seventy times seven." In the light of the world's sad economic plight and on the basis of the Christian spirit and teaching, we believe that the whole question of reparations and war debts should be reconsidered by the people and government of the United States.' ²²

The churchmen who hold these views are convinced that the debtor nations cannot pay all they owe. It is believed that the oppression and hardship which the collection of these debts would impose on the debtor nations would but aggravate an already perilous world situation. More par-

ticularly it is felt that the 'pre-armistice' part of the war debts should be wholly canceled or substantially reduced. It is argued, and with considerable cogency, that the loans made during this period were merely substitutes for men. America paid money. Europe paid in men. Europe cannot recall her dead. On what basis, it is asked, is it fair that America should recall her dollars? Or, as Bernard M. Baruch has put it: 'Should we ask France to pay for the copper in the shells used in laying down a barrage to protect American soldiers when we had no 75's? Or should we remit that portion?'

Moreover, the debtor nations with the exception of Finland are now in default, in whole or in part. It is generally conceded that the debts will not and cannot be paid at one hundred cents on the dollar or anywhere near that amount. Why, then, for the sake of political pride, should these international obligations be permitted to obstruct the efforts of nations, including our own, to recover their economic equilibrium? To be sure, churchmen are insistent that the moneys remitted shall not be used, directly or indirectly, for increased war preparations. With this qualification, and with the thought of enhancing the prospects for peace, preachers and laymen in increasing numbers are coming to feel that existing war debt agreements should be revised.

Tariff barriers, military protection of foreign investments, the race for raw materials, and the war debts — these are among the economic issues to which the churches are addressing themselves in their pursuit of the peace ideal. Nor do church leaders believe that these perplexing problems can be solved, nor a planned world economy consummated, until the economic system in its entirety is overhauled and service is substituted for profits as the primary incentive of economic activity.

The Northern Baptist Convention, for example, stands for 'a coöperative commonwealth based upon the Christian principle of the infinite worth of personality, in which such evils as unemployment, child labor and concentration of wealth will be eliminated by the subordination of the profit to the service motive throughout our entire industrial life.'²³ The Congregational and Christian churches, through their General Council, are committed to the task of reconstructing the economic order. 'We set ourselves to work toward the abolition of the system responsible for these destructive elements in our common life by eliminating the system's habits, the legal forms which sustain it, the moral ideals which justify it,' says the statement adopted by the General Council. 'We set ourselves,' the resolution declares, 'to work toward the inauguration of a genuinely coöperative social economy, democratically planned to adjust production to consumption requirements, to modify or eliminate private ownership of the means of production or distribution wherever such ownership interferes with the social good.'²⁴

Leaders of the Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian communions are also determined to work for an economic order that will not only yield larger material and spiritual returns to labor but in addition result in a form of society conducive to the establishment and maintenance of world justice and peace. 'It is obvious,' says the World Peace Commission of the Methodist Episcopal church, 'that the chief causes of modern warfare are economic and political in character. Under an economic system whose primary motivation is self-interest, and whose chief method is competition, there develops a fierce struggle for raw materials and markets. When this struggle becomes acute and investment and property are threatened, the industrialists and the financiers, by appealing to doctrines of national

honor and interest, exert pressure upon their respective governments to furnish diplomatic support and armed intervention. Thus private quarrels over private interests are transformed into national issues which threaten the peace of the world. What, then, is the way to peace? We believe that what is needed within every nation is a rapid approach to a coöperative economic order and a resolute effort to strengthen international agencies of justice and security.' ²⁵ The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. is of a like mind. 'We recognize,' the General Assembly says, 'that military policies have been the support of economic imperialism, and we condemn as godless any system of economics that requires war for its support and maintenance.' ²⁶

The Community Church Workers of the U. S. A. see in economic maladjustments a cause of war and they are resolved that 'we renounce the evils and injustices of the present economic society, which places profit above personality and exploits the latter for the former, and seek in a self-sacrificing way to build a coöperative society which shall reverse the present order and distribute the requirements for the abundant life to everyone, and that we work for this new order through preaching, teaching and all possible practical means.' ²⁷

The section on 'Economic Relations' of the revised Social Ideals of the Churches, adopted by the 1932 quadrennial meeting of the Federal Council of Churches and transmitted by the council to the judicatories of the various denominations, declares that 'the Christian ideal calls for hearty support of a planned economic system in which maximum social values shall be sought. It demands that coöperation shall supplant competition as the fundamental method. It assumes the principle that the personalities of human beings are of more value than their labor power and deserve prior consideration.'

These and kindred resolutions by official church bodies would seem to prove that many Christians have finally made up their minds that the economic structure of modern society will have to be revamped before the peace ideal can be fully realized. In other words, the achievement of world peace is now seen to be vitally related to the problem of securing economic justice for the masses.

The churches, moreover, are giving their moral support to every constructive movement designed to strengthen the world's peace machinery. The nations, it is held, must be organized for peace, not for war. Hence the practically unanimous endorsement of the churches in the effort to place resort to war beyond the pale of international law. Preachers are taking the Kellogg-Briand pact much more seriously than are the politicians and diplomats. This pact has been hailed by practically every church body in the United States as a treaty that incorporates in international law the Christian ideal of a warless world.

Those who believe that the churches have nothing more than an emotional enthusiasm for this historic pact are badly mistaken. The Disciples of Christ believe that 'since the nation has itself renounced war as an instrument of national policy it is the solemn duty of the church to refuse to countenance or approve any policy or action which violates the letter or spirit of the pact.'²⁸ These same churchmen see in this multilateral treaty the patriotism of pacifism. 'We hold,' they say, 'that "Christians should be good citizens, obeying the laws of the states," in the conviction that the state is bound by the obligations of the pact never to resort to war, but to use only peaceful means for the settlement of all controversies.'²⁹

The Christian churches declare that the Kellogg-Briand pact 'delegalizes war and puts it into the category of crime. It places into the hands of the people a power

which, if rightly used, should forever banish aggressive war. A heavy responsibility for the right use of this power rests upon the church. Strong public opinion and sentiment in support of this peace pact should be created and maintained to the end that ways and means shall be made available for carrying out in spirit and in letter the provisions of this treaty.' ³⁰ The General Council of the Congregational and Christian churches has taken its stand 'squarely upon the peace pact, now part of the highest law of our land, pledging that we ourselves will keep and whole-heartedly support our nation in keeping this pact, which binds us not to resort to war nor to participate in war for the settlement of any international disputes or conflicts, and commits us completely and without reserve to peaceful methods only for settling such disputes.' ³¹

The Northern Baptist Convention heartily approves 'the outlawry of war as covenanted by the nations in the Kellogg peace pact and we strongly condemn any breach of that pact as a militaristic act constituting an unchristian threat to peace and the international security of mankind;' ³² while the Methodists of the South contend that 'the declaration in the Kellogg-Briand treaty is shot through with the light that shone in Bethlehem. The inspiration is the Man of Galilee. . . . Rejoicing that in our day governments have rejected arbitrament of arms, Christian homes in all lands thank God and take courage that age-old dependence on Mars is rejected as the right arm of authority. In its place the long-cherished and long-delayed hope of official acceptance of a substitute for war heartens all lovers of peace. Not since Versailles has any action or deliverance given such hope for the coming of the day when swords shall be beaten into plowshares and men will war no more.' ³³

The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., in the light of

this outlawry of war pact, expresses its faith 'that our army and navy ought never to be used except for the purpose of resisting invasion. . . .' ³⁴ The Protestant Episcopal communion exalts the language of the pact but deplores the tardiness of the nations to live up to the ideals expressed in this treaty. 'Language could scarce be more clear or far-reaching,' say the Episcopalians, 'yet its influence on national policies to date has been disappointing and far below its possibilities. We, therefore, appeal to our country to base its policies upon this pact, now part of the highest law of our land, pledging that we ourselves will whole-heartedly support our government in keeping its solemn pledge to settle all controversies only by pacific means.' ³⁵ The General Synod of the Reformed Church in America holds that 'the implications of the pact are inescapable. They must be uncompromisingly carried out by all who have a Christian conscience. The responsibility is now ours. Therefore, be it resolved, that we accept the responsibility to educate the conscience of the church until preparation for war in any form becomes impossible.' ³⁶

These are but a few of the many affirmations of church bodies in which endorsement has been given to the outlawry of war movement. The Federal Council of Churches in a communication addressed to the Christians of all lands hailed the negotiation of the Kellogg-Briand pact as 'a memorable event in the history of the world.' In this message the Federal Council says:

'A fundamental change in the character of international relationships has been initiated by the pact and should promptly become the accepted basis of international relations. Suspicion, fear and war preparations should no longer be dominating considerations in a nation's foreign policies. Every government accepting this pact is in honor bound to search for and practice

the principles of peace. Peace should become the primary business of every country. Provocative measures should be scrupulously avoided, especially preparations for war beyond the need of actual self-defense. Justice, honesty, courtesy and mutual consideration should henceforth be conspicuous elements of all national policies. These are imperative obligations, implicit in the spirit and purpose of the pact. A nation which violates the pact will stand before the world not only as guilty of the most serious offense against the entire community of nations, but also as having violated its sacred word of honor. . . .

‘Throughout history the rights, prestige and influence of nations have depended on their fighting power. Armaments have been vital factors in national policies. Now that the governments have agreed to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and to seek the settlement of all their disputes by exclusively peaceful means, all this has changed. The standard of a nation’s honor, influence and significance in the world should henceforth depend on its accomplishments in the essentials of civilization, on its faithful observance of its obligations, on its progress in the realm of the spirit, and on its coöperation and self-giving service. . . .

‘We rejoice in the peace pact of Paris. It ushers in, we hope and believe, the dawn of a new day. It opens the door to a new era in human history — an era free from the wrongs of war, an era glorious with the happiness and prosperity of a brotherly humanity. The destiny of future generations depends on what the present generation does with the pact. The Federal Council expresses to Christians in this and in every land and to lovers of justice and peace everywhere its desire to join with them in persuading the people of our respective

countries to give the spirit and intent of the pact full play. We are deeply and sorrowfully conscious of failure on the part of our own country to reach its highest possibilities in international relations. In humility and contrition of spirit we have prepared this message, yet with hope, in order that you with us and we with you may join our hearts and our prayers in the high endeavor that now lies before us. Let us all unite in breathing into the pact the breath of life so essential for the triumphant achievement of its glorious vision.³⁷

Nor have Christians concluded that war can be outlawed by the fiat of treaty. On the contrary, there has been among churchmen an insistent demand that the United States make effective its adherence to the pact by giving official support to the world's peace machinery. There is scarcely a church body in the country that has not urged American membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice. Resolutions have been adopted and deputations of distinguished churchmen have visited the White House and in many other ways the churches have expressed the conviction that the United States should join this international tribunal. It is believed that world justice is fundamental to world peace and that a world court is essential to world justice. The churches, therefore, regard American membership in the World Court as a necessary step in the process of organizing the world for peace.

The Northern Baptist Convention, the Christian Convention, the National Council of the Congregational Churches, the Primitive Methodist church, the International Convention of Disciples of Christ, the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., the Methodist Episcopal church, the Protestant Episcopal church, the United Presbyterian church, the American Unitarian Association, the

General Conference of Unitarian Churches, the Universalist General Convention, the World's Sunday School Association, the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, and the Federal Council of Churches are among the national church bodies advocating American membership in the World Court. In a memorial to the United States Senate more than a thousand prominent churchmen said: 'We believe that all nations should agree to submit to impartial tribunals all disputes that threaten the peace of the world, which they cannot solve by the usual processes of diplomacy and conference. The World Court of Justice is the result of many decades of American discussions, plans and desires for peace. In it we see a concrete expression of the Christian spirit that is needed, the promise of a larger and truer righteousness and justice among nations, a step forward in the establishment of the kingdom of God.' ³⁸

Subsequent to the drawing up of this memorial, the so-called Root Protocol was negotiated with the thought of meeting objections raised by the Senate to American membership in the Court. The churches generally have endorsed the Root Protocol and substantial support has been given by various ecclesiastical bodies to the following declaration by the Federal Council of Churches: 'The Root Protocol amply provides for that relationship of the United States with the other nations in the World Court deemed by the Senate to be a necessary condition to American membership. Our government has signed the protocols providing for membership in the Court. It now remains for the Senate to ratify that signature. The churches earnestly desire that such action be taken as quickly as possible, and express the hope that the United States, subsequent to its adherence to the Court, accept with the other principal nations the so-called "optional

clause," which provides for the obligatory arbitration among signatories of all international disputes juridical in nature.³⁹

The churches are thoroughly disgusted with the manner in which the World Court has been kicked around by the Senate as though it were a political football. The Court, in one form or another, has been before the Senate for more than a decade. Adherence by the United States to the Court was voted by the Senate January 27, 1926. The reservations attached to this vote of adherence have been taken care of in the so-called Root Protocol. This protocol, acceptable to the states members of the League, has never been ratified by the Senate, nor is there any present disposition among Senate leaders to permit the question to come to a vote. Time and time again, when it seemed likely that a vote on this all-important question of our foreign policy would be taken, one or another of the senators opposed to America's adherence would solemnly announce that pressing matters of domestic concern had made it impossible to place the Court question on the Senate calendar. In this manner a small group of irreconcilable politicians aided by the isolationist section of the public press, and more particularly the Hearst press, has been able to thwart the known desire of what is clearly a majority of the American people and the expressed desires of the Harding, Coolidge, Hoover and Roosevelt administrations. Meanwhile, as a nation, we profess our zeal for peace, while refusing all the while to take even the first step in giving practical support to the efforts of the nations to organize the world for peace. Is it any wonder that other peoples should regard us in the rôle of an international hypocrite?

Not a few church bodies have advocated that the United States join the League of Nations; other groups have

warmly endorsed the League's humanitarian and non-political activities. Despite the League's known weaknesses and its failure, at times, to restrain governments bent upon making war, there are hosts of preachers and laymen who regard this organization as the most promising agency yet devised to safeguard mankind against the tragedy of war. Heretofore, the forces of men, to a large extent, have been harnessed to the enterprise of war. The League is believed by many churchmen to be the agency by means of which the energies of men can now be harnessed to the enterprise of peace.

In this faith a considerable number of ecclesiastical conferences and assemblies have commended the activities of the League, and, in certain instances action has been taken urging American membership in the League. 'We feel,' declares the Northern Baptist Convention, 'that the times demand that our nation become officially a part of the World Court and League of Nations.'⁴⁰ The Christian church holds that 'it is the sacred duty of all Christian people to give all possible support to the League in the splendid work which it is doing for humanity in the interest of international coöperation and harmony,'⁴¹ while the General Council of the Congregational and Christian churches, describing the League as 'the only political existing organization for effective promotion of international coöperation and for the realization of international brotherhood,' urges the 'entry and participation in the League of Nations by our government, fully sharing with other nations the mutual responsibilities and duties which the present world imposes upon all nations alike.'⁴²

The International Convention of the Disciples of Christ, rejoices 'in the increasing participation of our government in the activities of the League of Nations and in other international activities looking toward the substitu-

tion of conciliation and arbitration for war as a means of settling international disputes,'⁴³ while the General Conference of the Evangelical church commends 'the great work being done by the League of Nations.'⁴⁴ The Methodist Episcopal church, South, while withholding judgment upon the question of American membership in the League, says: 'We declare it as our conviction that the United States should coöperate with the League in the setting up of agencies and the promotion of plans for the preservation of world peace. Neither narrow partisanship and provincialism, nor blind prejudice against a leader or a name, should prevent us from coöperating with any organization or people for the promotion of principles and ideals consistent with the spirit of Christianity and with the liberty and sovereignty of our beloved country.'⁴⁵

'We rejoice,' says the Methodist Protestant church, 'in whatever progress has been made in the last decade toward the promotion of peace among the nations of the earth. The commendable efforts of the League of Nations, the diplomatic negotiations conducted under the Kellogg and other treaties, while they have not been fully effective, have certainly promoted the urge toward international peace.'⁴⁶ The Protestant Episcopal church is convinced that 'the time has come for a serious reconsideration of our relation to the League of Nations free from questions of partisanship or party politics.'⁴⁷ Intended as a friendly gesture toward the League, the Reformed Church of America has urged 'that members of our church study the organization of the League of Nations and its labors for world peace.' 'We record our belief,' this church body says, 'that the subject of the entrance of America into the League of Nations is a matter which must be removed far above the sphere of party politics. In view of the large and increasing coöperation of the American govern-

ment with the League of Nations, and the developing necessity of wider coöperation, we express the hope that a formula for American membership in the League may soon be forthcoming.' ⁴⁸ The Reformed Church in the United States advocates 'entrance into the League of Nations with such Senate reservations as shall harmonize the constitution of the League with the Paris pact and the Constitution of the United States.' ⁴⁹

The American Unitarian Association urges the various political parties to advocate 'continued participation (by the United States) in the work of the League of Nations,' ⁵⁰ while the Federal Council of Churches is of the opinion 'that the United States . . . should define the terms upon which it would be willing officially to relate itself to the League of Nations.' ⁵¹ The General Conference of the Colored Methodist Episcopal church has also urged that the United States clarify the basis upon which a more continuous and official relationship with the League might be established. ⁵²

The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches roundly condemns the political isolationism which heretofore has militated against American participation in the world's peace efforts. 'We must commit ourselves more whole-heartedly to the principle of international coöperation,' the World Alliance says. 'It is the only way to prosperity and abiding welfare. Protected as we are by geographic situation, provided with ample resources for all our needs, we of the United States are after all interdependent with the rest of the world. The historic attitude of aloofness from Europe could not save us from participation in the World War, and our isolationist policy after the war failed to protect us from the war's tragic aftermath. In following the road to national recovery and to a new prosperity our nation

cannot stop at its own geographical boundaries. International coöperation is more feasible, more desirable, more necessary today than ever before. Science, invention, industry, commerce and education are drawing the nations into a common life which can be sustained only upon the basis of international justice, good will and mutual trust. To that common life the United States must contribute. We owe to the welfare of humanity the fulfillment of duties and responsibilities which are inescapable. We are a part of the family of nations. We are parties to the Kellogg-Briand pact, the Nine-Power Pacific treaty and other international agreements. But we must go yet further. Only through a close, cordial, effective coöperation with the League of Nations, the World Court and other international instruments, can we fulfill our destiny as a free people and contribute as we ought to the well-being of mankind.⁵³

The National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, after expressing its 'gratification in the increasing coöperation of our government with the League of Nations in matters pertaining to disarmament, economic collaboration, the promotion of health and morals and other activities,' goes on to say: 'Looking to the future, we advocate that the United States become a member of the League of Nations, with such reservations, if deemed necessary, as may be mutually acceptable to the United States and to the members of the League. We believe that the sooner this occurs the better it will be for a world earnestly trying to organize itself for peace.'⁵⁴

At the time of the Sino-Japanese controversy regarding Manchuria many church bodies supported the efforts of the League to protect the rights of the parties to this dispute and to restore peace in the Far East. During the earlier stages of this conflict the Federal Council of

Churches applauded the action of the United States government in coöperating with League agencies 'in seeking a peaceful settlement of the issues now at stake between China and Japan and in calling the attention of China and Japan to their solemn obligations as signatories of the peace pact of Paris.' 'We believe,' the Federal Council said, 'that our government will have the fullest support of the membership of our churches in doing everything within its power, in coöperation with the Council of the League of Nations, to find a solution mutually acceptable to China and Japan.' ⁵⁵

Somewhat later and immediately following the Japanese bombardment of Shanghai the Federal Council of Churches again expressed the conviction that the United States should coöperate with the other nations in an effort to restrain the hand of the Japanese militarists. The Federal Council's 'Message to the Churches' regarding the tragic situation was widely commented on by the public and religious press both in the United States and in other lands. 'A momentous decision, which may determine the course of history for decades ahead, faces the United States and the other nations,' the Federal Council said. 'The present conflict in the Orient, whatever the technicalities, is virtually war. In our judgment, the United States should coöperate with the other nations in the closest possible way, using every available method of peace for maintaining the integrity of the Pact of Paris. Under no circumstances whatsoever should the United States allow itself to be drawn into a war with either China or Japan, nor should it join with the other powers in any measure of military coercion. We strongly endorse and support the position taken by Secretary of State Stimson in making it known to the world that the United States will not recognize the legality of any title

or right gained in violation of the pledges contained in the Kellogg-Briand pact and Nine-Power treaty. We earnestly hope that the other governments of the world will join with the United States in support of this policy. We believe that the general acceptance of the principle of non-recognition of national advantages gained by military means in violation of peace pledges will go far toward preventing resort to war.' ⁵⁶ The Federal Council of Churches, at the same time, held it to be 'contrary to sound public policy for the United States, while protesting the violation of treaties, to permit its nationals to supply the military instruments employed in their violation. Our government should, we believe, forbid the exportation of arms and munitions to China and Japan and condemn loans to either country which might be used to assist in military operations. And we urge the churches of other nations to recommend similar action by their governments.' (For a more detailed study of the position of the churches regarding exporting arms to belligerents see chapter entitled 'The Churches and the Traffic in Arms.')

Not a few churches have recorded their approval of the 'non-recognition' policy promulgated by the United States with respect to the policies of territorial aggression pursued by Japan. The Methodist Episcopal church said: 'We commend the President of the United States and the Secretary of State for taking the position that our government will not recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by violation of treaty agreements. We rejoice in the endorsement of this position by the Council of the League of Nations. We believe that this position which is in harmony with the Paris pact and American traditions, and which, as Mr. Hoover has truly said, is "the strongest moral sanction ever pro-

claimed in the world," ushers in a new day in international diplomacy and brings new hope to mankind.'⁵⁷

The Reformed Church in America is of a like mind. Its position is, in part: 'Since the United States has renounced war as an instrument of national policy and has pledged itself to the pacific settlement of all international disputes, the General Synod expresses its hearty support of the policy of our government announced by the Secretary of State on January 7, 1932, whereby it was declared that the government "does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the Pact of Paris." We rejoice in this statement as a constructive application of the pact and as a commitment to the principle that resort to war for securing national objectives is futile.'⁵⁸ The Reformed Church in the United States has also recorded its appreciation of 'the prompt action of our government in coöperating with the Council of the League of Nations in seeking a peaceful settlement of the issues between China and Japan, and in calling the attention of China and Japan to their solemn obligations as signatories of the peace pact of Paris.'⁵⁹ Similarly, the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference approves 'as a step in the right direction the policy of non-recognition of any alleged title or right gained in violation of the pledges contained in the Kellogg-Briand pact, as announced by Secretary Stimson and accepted by the League of Nations.'⁶⁰ The Unitarian Association, in 1932, recommended that all political parties stand for the following proposition: 'Acceptance of the doctrine that territorial, political or other gains made in violation of the Pact of Paris shall not be recognized.'⁶¹ Endorsement of the Stimson doctrine was embodied in the following action

taken by the 1933 Goodwill Congress of the World Alliance: 'We heartily endorse and approve the action of the government of the United States in refusing to recognize new governments or jurisdictions, or territorial accessions made without regard to the terms of the Pact of Paris and the Covenant of the League of Nations.'

The great majority of the churches, in their relation to the Manchurian controversy, were motivated solely by their desire to see peace with justice maintained in the Far East. They looked with grave misgiving upon the military exploits of the Japanese in Manchuria, Jehol and Northern China. They were determined that the United States should not be drawn into the controversy. They saw in the action of Japan a threat to the world's peace machinery and a denial of the solemn commitments assumed by the Tokio government under the Kellogg-Briand pact and the Nine-Power treaty of the Pacific. And let it be said to the credit of the churches that they gave their moral support to such non-military measures as seemed to offer promise of a satisfactory solution of the Far Eastern catastrophe. The churches were not always certain (nor was the government for that matter, nor the League) as to the steps that should be taken to restore peace in the Pacific. They were certain of one thing, however, that the disturbance in Manchuria and Jehol should not be permitted to jeopardize the peace of the world at large. The churches were of a divided mind regarding the use of economic and military sanctions. In certain instances the churches favored sanctions; in other instances sanctions, particularly military sanctions, were regarded as a form of war. In the main the churches relied upon the persuasive power of public opinion, as voiced by the League, to restrain the hand of the Japanese military. They were practically unanimous in their endorsement of

the Stimson doctrine of non-recognition and they were convinced that the government should not permit private manufacturers of arms and munitions to sell their military instruments to the belligerent nations. These actions evidenced an acute awareness on the part of the churches that collective action among the nations was the first step toward the restoration of world harmony. In this sense it may be said that the influence of the organized forces of religion, despite the baffling circumstances of the moment, was thrown definitely upon the side of peace.

In the light of the foregoing it would seem reasonable to infer that the churches will continue, as in the past, to give their moral support to such constructive steps as may be taken by the League in the interest of world justice and peace. The League may be ignored by the politicians. It will not be ignored by the preachers. The League may not be perfect; indeed, there is a growing conviction among churchmen that the covenant should be amended so that it will function in a manner consistent with the peace pledges assumed by the nations under the Kellogg-Briand peace pact. There is a feeling, too, that the police duties of the League should be modified so that moral judgment may be expressed by its members without at the same time making necessary the imposition of economic and military sanctions.

Political isolationism is anathema to the preachers and laymen who are grounding their arms. Thousands of these churchmen are giving their support to the World Court and to the League of Nations because they see in these institutions the embodiment of the principle of international coöperation. They feel that confidence in the League is still justified and that apart from the League there is not a single international agency through which the nations may express their common concern in matters

of war and peace. There are many Christian thinking people who agree with Captain Anthony Eden, British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that 'much of the criticism which is today leveled against the League is based upon misapprehension as to what the League is. It is neither a touchstone for all ills nor a repository of all knowledge. It is essentially a machine for assisting consultation between nations. Its value depends upon the use which is made of it. Its wisdom cannot be greater than the collective wisdom of the statesmen who employ it. The greater the support we give it, the more it can achieve.'⁶² However much the political isolationists may rant about the alleged impotence of the League in a time of crisis, the churches generally see in the covenant and its enabling machinery a revolutionary and promising departure from the international political anarchy which prevailed throughout the world prior to 1919.

The principle of international coöperation for the settlement of inter-American disputes is cordially supported by the churches. President Roosevelt, in his address before the Woodrow Wilson Foundation,⁶³ declared that it would be the purpose of his administration to pursue a program of non-intervention in our relations with the nations of the Western Hemisphere. This is precisely the policy recommended by the churchmen who were identified four and five years previously with the Columbus and Evanston Study Conferences on the Churches and World Peace. Preachers generally applauded the utterance of President Roosevelt touching upon the "new deal" in inter-American relations while the executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches 'warmly commends the constructive policies being enunciated by President Roosevelt regarding the conduct of our relations with the nations of the Western Hemisphere.' 'We rejoice,'

said the executive committee, 'in the successful outcome of the Pan-American Congress at Montevideo. We are in full sympathy with the President's declaration . . . that "the definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention," and that "the maintenance of law and the orderly processes of government in this hemisphere is . . . the joint concern of a whole continent in which we are all neighbors." We are gratified that the United States has refrained from military intervention in Cuba and we are heartily in favor of the proposed abrogation of the Platt Amendment which seriously impinges on the sovereignty of the Cuban Republic. We are convinced that if these and kindred policies are faithfully carried out the peace of the Western Hemisphere will be assured.' ⁶⁴

More than four years before President Roosevelt enunciated his policy of collective endeavor for the maintenance of peace in the Western Hemisphere, the Second National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace had recommended 'the transfer of authority to administer the Monroe Doctrine from the United States alone to the Pan-American countries collectively,' ⁶⁵ while the Federal Council of Churches approved 'the interpretation now being placed upon the Monroe Doctrine by the United States government whereby intervention in the internal affairs of Latin American republics is specifically disavowed.' ⁶⁶

In their efforts to achieve world justice and peace among American states, several church bodies have urged that the Senate ratify, without reservations, the General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration. This treaty provides for a policy of obligatory arbitration for the settlement of any legal disputes which may arise among the signatory states. The preamble of this treaty states that 'the American

republics condemn war as an instrument of national policy and adopt obligatory arbitration as the means for the settlement of their international differences of a juridical character.' The Federal Council of Churches has repeatedly called for the ratification of this treaty, as have the Northern Baptist Convention, the International Convention of the Disciples of Christ, the American Unitarian Association, the American branch of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, and the General Convention of the Universalist church.

The United Brethren church believes, as many church groups believe, 'that the relations of the United States with the Latin-American countries . . . should be conducted along lines of justice and good will, and that the economic resources of the United States, when utilized in these countries, should be utilized for the mutual benefit of the peoples concerned, and that these relations should be carefully guarded, that there may be no exploitation of the weaker people.'⁶⁷

The Committee on Coöperation in Latin America, representative of a considerable number of the church boards sponsoring missionary projects in Latin-American countries, has repeatedly urged the United States to revolutionize its relations with Latin-American countries, abandon its policy of armed intervention, and continentalize the Monroe Doctrine. The Evanston National Study Conference, in endorsing the principle of obligatory arbitration among American states, said: 'We are convinced that the Pan-American Arbitration Treaty for the obligatory arbitration of all justiciable disputes, signed on January 5, 1929, by twenty American states, including the United States, is a notable step forward in fulfillment of the obligations of the Pact of Paris. When this treaty is submitted to the Senate for its consent and ratification

we ask all citizens to join in urging that it be ratified without any exceptions or reservations.'⁶⁸

The fact that the Senate has not yet ratified this treaty in a manner acceptable to the President is a cause of deep disappointment among the peace leaders of the churches. While a comparatively small number of professional politicians still insist that the United States remain aloof from the rest of the world, a vast number of church people no less emphatically insist that the United States support the constructive efforts now being made by the nations to organize the world for peace. Hence the endorsement given by many church bodies to the Pact of Paris, the Permanent Court of International Justice, the League of Nations, the Pan-American Arbitration Treaty, and similar institutions and instruments designed to promote world justice and international good will. It is felt by many churches that when the world is adequately organized for peace the necessity for the maintenance of large military establishments will tend to disappear and nations will achieve security through processes of international collaboration.

The churches are no less insistent that the causes of racial friction between nations be removed. To those who are thoroughly committed to the principle of oneness in Christ there is no West, nor East, nor North, nor South. Political and economic policies that are premised upon the assumption that certain races are inferior to other races are deplored by the church crusaders for a warless world.

More particularly the churches have been tireless in their efforts to remove those discriminatory features of our immigration laws which are based upon considerations of race. The Asiatic Exclusion Law has been condemned by many church assemblies and ecclesiastical conferences. 'The Exclusion Clause of the Immigration Act of 1924

still remains and gives grave offense to Asiatic peoples.' say the Northern Baptists. 'While Japan keenly resents the humiliation which she feels was placed upon her she is maintaining an attitude of dignified and restrained protest. We earnestly urge that this matter should be set right either by a new treaty, or by placing Asiatics under the quota provisions of the Immigration Law, or by any other arrangements that may be mutually satisfactory.'⁶⁹ The Christian church has placed itself on record 'as favoring the modification of the United States Immigration Law in such way that the limitation be made the same in principle for orientals and occidentals,'⁷⁰ while the Disciples of Christ 'wish to express in unqualified terms our desire for continued friendship with Japan, and we urge the next session of the United States Congress to repeal, both as a gesture of good will toward Japan and as a means of stopping the present large-scale smuggling of aliens into the United States, our Exclusion Act of 1924, and to put Japanese immigration on a quota basis. . . .'⁷¹

The Methodist Episcopal church has appealed 'for such modification of the present Immigration Act as will place orientals on the same quota basis as now governs immigration from European countries.'⁷² The Reformed Church in America favors 'a revision of our immigration laws to permit the immigration of orientals on the same basis as that of other nationalities.'⁷³ The United Brethren church sees in the Exclusion Act a denial of the fundamental principles of international justice. 'We believe,' says this church body, 'that in determining our immigration policy, the United States should put the Asiatic nations upon the quota basis, giving them an equal standing with all other peoples of the earth. We believe that the request of our Japanese Conference, that the Japanese should be treated the same as other peoples, has a just

basis, and that the discrimination against the Japanese in the immigration law should be removed because it is unchristian and hinders the propagation of the gospel in Japan, and destroys the mutuality of the fellowship of the Japanese and American peoples.' ⁷⁴

The American branch of the World Alliance desires that justice be accorded orientals with respect to our immigration laws. 'We urge,' the alliance says, 'that the United States at once and completely apply in its immigration regulations the principle of racial equality, because friendly coöperation between nations can be established only on a foundation in which racial discrimination has no part.' ⁷⁵ Similar views are expressed by the National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace. 'We hold,' says the Columbus Conference, 'that in determining our immigration policy the United States should put the Asiatic nations upon the quota basis.' ⁷⁶

Since its inception the Federal Council of Churches has labored for the improvement of relations between oriental and occidental peoples. In 1915, Dr. Sidney L. Gulick was sent to Japan by the Federal Council of Churches with Dr. Shailer Mathews, at that time president of the Federal Council. Again in 1922-23 Dr. Gulick made an extensive visit to China, Korea and Japan, conveying to the churches of those lands a good-will message from the churches of the United States. The Federal Council of Churches, for years, has advocated the repeal of the exclusion law. 'The Asiatic exclusion section of the Immigration Law of 1924 has created an international situation that causes us grave concern,' says the Federal Council in one of its official utterances on this subject. 'The manner of its enactment, the abrupt abrogation of the gentlemen's agreement without the conference re-

quested by Japan, the insistence on a discriminatory law which Asiatics resent as humiliating, unjust and unchristian, and the affront to Japan's prestige as one of the great and equal nations of the world, have combined to wound and grieve a friendly nation. Many expressions of resentment and of disappointment in the idealism, brotherhood and good will of America have come from India and China as well as from Japan. While Asiatics know and say that nothing they can do can change the situation or the law, they repeatedly declare their trust in the sense of justice which many of them still believe inheres in the American people and their confidence that the American people will ultimately set this matter right.' *

The Federal Council of Churches strongly believes: ' (1) that the dictates of humanity and the welfare of the world demand the recognition by all governments of the brotherhood of man and the inherent right of all nations and races to treatment free from humiliation; (2) that the United States cannot afford to override the principle of essential human equality embedded in the Declaration of Independence; (3) that no nation can afford needlessly to flout and wound the feelings of other nations and peoples; (4) that the maintenance of justice, humanity, courtesy and good will between the peoples of the Far West and the Far East is essential to the permanent peace of the Pacific and of the world; (5) that we recognize the need of restriction of immigration in order to conserve American standards of labor and living; (6) that Asiatics in the United States should be accorded their rights as human beings and also their rights to which they are entitled by the letter and the spirit of the treaties under which they came to the United States; (7) that, in the words of former Ambassador Woods, this action of Congress referred to above was an international catastrophe;

(8) that we see at present no better solution of the problem than the application to Japan, China and India of the quota law as it comes into force in 1927, which would result in the annual admission of 350 immigrants from those three sections of the Orient.' ⁷⁷

Churchmen have expressed themselves on other phases of the race problem and more particularly upon the menace to peace occasioned by the persecution of the Jews in such countries as Rumania and Germany. Twelve hundred prominent clergymen, representing twenty-six denominations, signed a petition in May, 1933, protesting against anti-semitism in Germany.⁷⁸ These preachers acknowledged 'the existence of racial and religious prejudice in America, against which we have repeatedly taken our stand,' while at the same time they insisted that Christendom must not permit the ruthless persecution of Jews in Germany, or anywhere else.

The problem of race relations in the United States and its effect on the movement for world peace was the subject of the following resolution by the General Conference of the Colored Methodist Episcopal church. 'The Congress of the United States should be urged to pass the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill for the moral effect that such legislation at this time would have in impressing the people of other nations with the consistency of the Christian churches in the United States. For an appeal for world peace on the part of a nation where mob violence is as prevalent as it is in the United States would fall short of convincing power unless accompanied by assurance of serious effort on the part of the United States to curb the lynching spirit.' ⁷⁹

The American Committee on Religious Rights and Minorities, instituted by the Church Peace Union, has issued two significant pronouncements within recent

months, one dealing with the problem of United States' recognition of Russia and the other having to do with Germany's treatment of the Jews. 'We are painfully aware,' the committee says regarding persecution of the Jews in the Third Reich, 'that there are manifestations of race prejudice and mob violence in other countries, including our own land. We deplore such inexcusable manifestations in America, but it should be noted that they do not represent a policy of the government of the United States but are in clear violation of its constitution and laws and are condemned by the overwhelming public opinion of the country. It is a far more serious matter when, as in Germany today, it is the official and avowed policy of the government to deny to a whole class of its people their equal rights as citizens on account of their Jewish descent, and even virtually to order Christian churches to become an instrument in the carrying out of this policy.' The committee appeals to the Christian churches 'to express their sympathy with their oppressed brethren in Germany and those in exile from Germany, to voice their protest against the wrongs to which they are being subjected, and to develop everywhere a stronger moral consciousness of the inestimable value of political, economic and religious freedom and the urgent necessity of emphasizing it in these days when the maintenance of this inalienable right is being seriously jeopardized.' ⁸⁰

Among the many other questions touching upon the relations of the United States with other lands which have received the attention of various church bodies are the independence of the Philippines, extraterritoriality in China, the maintenance of the historic 'open door' policy with regard to trade matters, and the abolition of forced labor in Africa and elsewhere.

Fundamentally the churches believe that war will not

be uprooted until the war idea is uprooted. Support has been given to economic and political policies and programs which look toward a more Christian international order in full knowledge of the fact that the establishment and maintenance of peace calls for a mental revolution in which the peace ideal is made regnant in the thought processes of oncoming generations. There is, accordingly, a significant movement in progress among the churches calculated to develop a peace-mindedness among the youth of our churches. That the churches are fully aware of their duty with respect to peace education is made abundantly clear by a study of the records. The Northern Baptist Convention, convinced that 'world peace depends finally on the development of an intelligent and informed will-for-peace on the part of millions of citizens in each of the great nations,' earnestly urges 'each church to make systematic education for peace a regular part of its instructional program in the church school and also in all young people's societies and adult groups.'⁸¹

The Churches of God, desirous of creating 'a peace conscience and a peace disposition in the hearts and minds of our citizenship,' urge 'the teaching of the evils of war and the blessings of peace by every pastor in the pulpit, by every teacher in the Sunday schools, by every editor of our periodicals, and by every professor in the college classroom, so that through such a comprehensive educational program we may do our full share in molding the thought of the present youth of all races, that they may become a peace-loving generation, and help to launch such an aggressive campaign to teach the nature, causes and civil consequences of war, that will result in its speedy outlawry.'⁸²

The National Council of the Congregational churches urges local congregations in all their departments to 'in-

culcate in the minds of their constituents, and especially the youth, a knowledge of the folly and inhumanity of war and to foster and extend the will to peace based upon the doctrine of equal rights and just treatment for all nations; and that Christian homes throughout our congregations be open to the students from other lands within our gates, that they may return to their respective countries with an exalted sense of the power of Christianity in the home and a new conception of Christian fraternity . . . ' ⁸³ The Disciples of Christ church calls to the attention of its ministers, teachers and editors 'the importance of cultivating an intelligent interest in all peace movements, and in refraining from all utterances that would foster international ill will or hatred . . . ' ⁸⁴

The Methodist Episcopal church, South, is of the opinion 'that Christian people all over the world must so mold public opinion and mobilize the agencies of peace as to compel the nations of the earth to abandon war in fact and not simply by treaty. . . . ' ⁸⁵ while the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. has pledged itself 'to teach the coming generation of the cost and curse of war, to saturate them with a passion for peace, to cultivate in them the conviction that the world will be more blessed by friendships than by battleships and to stimulate within them the conviction that, as a progressive civilization left behind private warfare, so a forward-looking civilization can leave behind international war habits of medieval times.' ⁸⁶

The pastors, teachers and leaders of the Reformed Church in America, especially those dealing with children and young people, are urged to 'give themselves to the teachings of love and good will, stressing emphatically that full loyalty to Jesus means bringing peace to the world.' ⁸⁷ The Reformed Church in the United States encourages

'systematic education for peace in our church schools and from the pulpit for the purpose of creating friendly interest in others, appreciation of their ability and contributions, respect for the rights, property and opinions of others — Christian patriotism.' ⁸⁸ In committing itself to a program of peace education the General Synod of this communion said: 'We set ourselves determinedly to learn the art of overcoming all evil with good — active, non-violent love that does not retreat before wrong but suffers by advancing against it, that does not tolerate wrong but bravely attacks it with all the moral and spiritual power at its command.' ⁸⁹

These are but a few of the many affirmations of various church bodies on the subject of peace education. The churches, it would seem, are determined to supplement their prayers for peace with a program of education designed to modify traditional conceptions of patriotism and to develop in the minds of Christian youth a will to peace that will be strong to resist the appeal to force voiced by those who believe in the power of the sword.

The churches are speaking their mind on the cause and cure of war. They are not content with the adoption of resolutions. They are rapidly pledging themselves to work for such changes in the social, political and economic structure of modern society as will enhance the prospects for peace among the nations. And what is more, these same churches are launching a program of peace education that has as its purpose the supplanting of the war mind with the peace mind.

NOTES ON CHAPTER II

¹ *The Rocky Mountain News*, November 18, 1927.

² *The New York Times*, August 21, 1931.

³ *The Boston Advertiser*, July 27, 1930.

- ⁴ *Germany and the Next War*, English edition, 1912.
- ⁵ *Quotations on War and Peace*, p. 6, published by the Congregational Commission on International Relations.
- ⁶ National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, 1929.
- ⁷ National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, 1930.
- ⁸ Protestant Episcopal church, General Convention, 1931.
- ⁹ Reformed Church in the United States, General Synod, 1926.
- ¹⁰ American Unitarian Association, Annual Meeting, 1932.
- ¹¹ Church of the United Brethren in Christ, General Conference, 1929.
- ¹² International Goodwill Congress, 1928.
- ¹³ Federal Council of Churches, executive committee, 1930.
- ¹⁴ National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, 1929.
- ¹⁵ Northern Baptist Convention, 1925.
- ¹⁶ Northern Baptist Convention, 1933.
- ¹⁷ Federal Council of Churches, Quadrennial Meeting, 1932.
- ¹⁸ Southern Baptist Convention, 1933.
- ¹⁹ International Goodwill Congress, 1933.
- ²⁰ Federal Council of Churches, executive committee, April, 1934.
- ²¹ Federal Council of Churches, administrative committee, June, 1932.
- ²² Reformed Church in America, General Synod, 1932.
- ²³ Northern Baptist Convention, 1934.
- ²⁴ Congregational and Christian churches, General Council, 1934.
- ²⁵ World Peace Commission, Methodist Episcopal church, May, 1934.
- ²⁶ Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., General Assembly, 1934.
- ²⁷ Community Church Workers of the U. S. A., 1934.
- ²⁸ Disciples of Christ, International Convention, 1930.
- ²⁹ Disciples of Christ, International Convention, 1929.
- ³⁰ Christian church, General Convention, 1929.
- ³¹ Congregational and Christian churches, General Council, 1931.
- ³² Northern Baptist Convention, 1932.
- ³³ Methodist Episcopal church, South, General Conference, 1930.
- ³⁴ Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., General Assembly, 1933.
- ³⁵ Protestant Episcopal church, General Convention, 1931.
- ³⁶ Reformed Church in America, General Synod, 1931.
- ³⁷ *Message to Christians of All Lands and to All Lovers of World Justice, Goodwill and Peace*, 1928.
- ³⁸ A Memorial to the United States Senate, January, 1924.
- ³⁹ Federal Council of Churches, executive committee, 1930.
- ⁴⁰ Northern Baptist Convention, 1933.
- ⁴¹ Christian church, General Convention, 1929.
- ⁴² Congregational and Christian churches, General Council, 1931.
- ⁴³ Disciples of Christ, International Convention, 1931.
- ⁴⁴ Evangelical church, General Conference, 1930.
- ⁴⁵ Methodist Episcopal church, South, General Conference, 1926.
- ⁴⁶ Methodist Protestant church, General Conference, 1932.
- ⁴⁷ Protestant Episcopal church, General Convention, 1931.

- 48 Reformed Church in America, General Synod, 1932.
- 49 Reformed Church in the U. S., General Synod, 1932.
- 50 American Unitarian Association, Annual Meeting, 1932.
- 51 Federal Council of Churches, executive committee, April, 1934.
- 52 Colored Methodist Episcopal church, General Conference, 1934.
- 53 International Goodwill Congress, 1933.
- 54 Third National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, 1930.
- 55 Federal Council of Churches, executive committee, 1931.
- 56 Federal Council of Churches, administrative committee, February, 1932.
- 57 Methodist Episcopal church, General Conference, 1932.
- 58 Reformed Church in America, General Synod, 1932.
- 59 Reformed Church in the U. S., General Synod, 1932.
- 60 Seventh Day Baptist church, General Conference, 1932.
- 61 American Unitarian Association, Annual Meeting, 1932.
- 62 Quoted by the secretary-general of the League of Nations in the House of Commons, December 11, 1933.
- 63 Washington, D. C., December 28, 1933.
- 64 Federal Council of Churches, executive committee, January, 1934.
- 65 National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, 1929.
- 66 Federal Council of Churches, Quadrennial Meeting, 1932.
- 67 Church of the United Brethren in Christ, General Conference, 1929.
- 68 National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, 1930.
- 69 Northern Baptist Convention, 1930.
- 70 Christian church, General Convention, 1929.
- 71 Disciples of Christ, International Convention, 1933.
- 72 Methodist Episcopal church, General Conference, 1932.
- 73 Reformed Church in America, General Synod, 1932.
- 74 Church of the United Brethren in Christ, General Conference, 1929.
- 75 International Goodwill Congress, 1933.
- 76 National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, 1929.
- 77 Federal Council of Churches, executive committee, 1925.
- 78 *The New York Times*, May 26, 1933.
- 79 Colored Methodist Episcopal church, General Conference, 1934.
- 80 Statement issued January, 1934.
- 81 Northern Baptist Convention, 1930.
- 82 Churches of God in North America, General Eldership, 1925.
- 83 Congregational churches, National Council, 1927.
- 84 Disciples of Christ, International Convention, 1928.
- 85 Methodist Episcopal church, South, General Conference, 1930.
- 86 Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., General Assembly, 1933.
- 87 Reformed Church in America, General Synod, 1931.
- 88 Reformed Church in the United States, General Synod, 1929.
- 89 Reformed Church in the United States, General Synod, 1932.

CHAPTER III

CHURCHES DEMAND DRASTIC REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS

The churches are preaching a new sort of patriotism — the patriotism of peace, the patriotism that considers it a mark of honor to enter into agreements with other nations to reduce and limit armaments. The churches accordingly are demanding that nations cut down their sea, land and air forces. How could they do less? If what the churches have been saying is true, that the use of military weapons upon the battle-field is a travesty on justice and the antithesis of Jesus' way of life, then the only reasonable thing for churchmen to do is to insist upon a substantial dwarfing of military establishments. This they are doing.

What, in brief, is the situation with respect to our military establishments? In 1913 the total army, navy and air budget of the United States was \$244,600,000. In 1930 the military budget had risen to \$727,700,000, an increase over 1913 of 197 per cent. In 1932 we spent \$699,081,812 for national defense, \$1,060,853,180 for war pensions, and for service on the national debt (largely a war debt) \$1,010,682,563; or a total military spending of \$2,770,617,555. This was 65.2 per cent of the budget for this particular year. The total ordinary receipts of the government for 1932 amounted to \$2,121,228,006. In other words, our military expenditures during these twelve months exceeded our ordinary receipts by considerably more than a half-billion dollars.

Nor is this all. During the summer of 1933 the government, under the Public Works Administration, authorized the expenditure of \$238,000,000 for the construction of 32 new war vessels; \$7,500,000 for aviation construction under the Navy Department; \$10,000,000 for motorization of the army; \$7,500,000 for aviation construction under the War Department; \$7,000,000 for seacoast defense; \$6,000,000 for ordnance; \$57,797,776 for the Quartermaster Corps. By December 1, 1933, a total of \$366,330,594 had been allocated by the Public Works Administration for military purposes.

The churches of the United States and Canada expended, in 1932, \$29,000,000 for missions. Standing alone \$29,000,000 is a considerable sum of money, but it is hardly more than half the cost of a first-class battleship. Christians in their private capacity give \$29,000,000 in a given year for missions and in their corporate and political capacity they share in a governmental spending of approximately two billion dollars for the maintenance of the army and navy, service on the war debt, and payments for veterans' compensation.

Three naval building programs are now under way or authorized. The navy departmental budget provides for continuing construction on 20 naval vessels. The Public Works Administration, as already pointed out, has allocated \$238,000,000 of borrowed money for the construction of 32 war vessels. The Vinson Naval Bill, approved by the Seventy-third Congress, authorizes the construction of 1 aircraft carrier, 65 destroyers, 30 submarines, and 6 cruisers not yet laid down. The construction contemplated in these three programs totals 154 vessels with a total anticipated cost of more than a billion dollars. The yearly maintenance cost of the fleet, when completed, will be approximately \$500,000,000. In addi-

tion, the Navy Department is asking Congress to authorize the construction of 1,143 airplanes, while the War Department is talking in terms of more than 1,000 new planes.

Well, the churches are having something to say about all this. The executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches, as has already been pointed out, declared its unqualified opposition to the Vinson Naval Bill. The council said:

‘We believe that the administration’s naval construction policy seriously compromises all that is implied in a “good neighbor” policy. The current naval budget already provides for continuing construction on 20 war vessels. The program of naval expansion authorized under the Public Works Administration further provides for the construction of 32 naval vessels at a cost of \$238,000,000. Supplementary appropriations allocated to the navy by the Public Works Administration total approximately \$37,000,000. In addition to all this, it is now recommended by the House Naval Affairs Committee that the President be authorized to undertake a five-year building and replacement program of more than 100 ships, to cost close to \$400,000,000. Were the pending naval legislation to be enacted it would mean that in addition to the current building provided for in the regular budget of the Navy Department, the United States, within less than a year’s time, would have authorized a new naval construction program that would cost approximately \$700,000,000. This would be by far the largest program of naval expansion ever undertaken by this country in time of peace.

‘We believe that this program of naval expansion will tend to develop in our own and other countries a state of mind that will make difficult if not altogether

impossible a general reduction of armaments by international agreement. We believe that the adoption of this legislation would considerably aggravate a world situation already tense and serious, stimulate further naval competition among the principal maritime powers, and jeopardize the success of the 1935 naval conference. We are, accordingly, opposed to the adoption of the so-called Vinson Naval Building Measure, and especially so at a time when constructive programs of social welfare are being crippled and thousands of schools are being closed for lack of funds.

'We therefore register our unqualified opposition to the projected program of naval construction. We request our Department of International Justice and Goodwill to transmit a statement of our action to the President and to the members of Congress.'¹

Preachers in many parts of the country were quick to protest against the adoption of the Vinson Bill. A large section of the religious press called for the defeat of this legislation. More than a score of prominent New York clergymen, as if in answer to Congressman Britten's declaration that the Federal Council's utterance was in no sense representative of the thinking of the church at large, sent a telegram to President Roosevelt in which they said: 'We, the undersigned clergymen of New York City, earnestly protest against the Vinson Naval Bill. We also protest against the manner in which this legislation is being rushed through Congress. We urge you to request the Senate to defer consideration of this measure until the people have been given full opportunity to be heard upon its wisdom or necessity. We believe the proposed naval construction program seriously compromises your good neighbor policy and is a denial of our moral obligation under the Kellogg pact. We believe vast numbers of

thoughtful people will acclaim your action in withholding support from this unprecedented peace-time program of naval expansion.”² The clergymen signing the telegram included: Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Riverside Church; Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, Christ Church; Dr. W. Russell Bowie, Grace Church; Rabbi Samuel H. Goldenson, Temple Emanu-el; Bishop Francis J. McConnell, New York area, Methodist Episcopal church; Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, Central Congregational Church; Dr. George A. Buttrick, Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church; President Henry Sloane Coffin, Union Theological Seminary; Dr. Norman V. Peale, Marble Collegiate Church; Dr. John H. Lathrop, First Unitarian Congregational Society; Dr. C. Everett Wagner, Union Methodist Episcopal Church; Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, University Heights Presbyterian Church; Dr. Edmund Melville Wylie, Park Avenue Presbyterian Church; Dr. Raymond L. Forman, St. Paul’s Methodist Episcopal Church; Dr. John L. Davis, Washington Square Methodist Episcopal Church; Dr. Edgar F. Romig, West End Reformed Church; Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Community Church; Rabbi Stephen Wise, Free Synagogue; Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Congregation B’nai Jeshurun; Dr. J. Howard Melish, Holy Trinity Church; Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, pastor emeritus, Broadway Tabernacle; Dr. Christian Reisner, Broadway Temple Methodist Episcopal Church; Dr. Wallace MacMullen, Metropolitan Temple.

A large number of local federations of churches and ministerial associations have protested against the adoption of the Vinson Bill, while a considerable section of the religious press has called for the abandonment of the projected program of naval expansion. The Annual Conference of the Philadelphia Methodist Episcopal Church adopted a resolution urging President Roosevelt to veto

the Vinson Bill which was characterized as 'certain to precipitate a race in naval armaments among the great powers inimical to the peace of the world and contrary to the principles of "peace on earth" proclaimed by Jesus Christ.' The President was requested to veto the then pending Vinson legislation 'in the interests of peace, economy and coöperation among the nations of the world.'³

The Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, disturbed at the thought that the proposed expansion of the American fleet might conceivably be regarded by many nations as an unfriendly act and inimical for this reason to the missionary enterprise, took the following action:

'The Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, mindful of the wide experience of the missionary enterprise in its friendly contact with peoples of all nations, and convinced that mounting armaments intensify rather than allay those public fears which precipitate war, regard with alarm and grave solicitude current proposals by governments and legislative bodies on both sides of the Atlantic and of the Pacific looking toward vast and increasing expenditures for naval and military purposes.

'Bearing in mind the central purpose of the missionary enterprise and the devotion of millions of supporters to its ideals, the committee believes that the Vinson Bill, proposing to build the United States navy to treaty limits, is contrary to the spirit of world friendliness on which foreign missionary work is based and is inconsistent with the administration's announced position along lines of international good will and that it is in effect a menace to the peace of the world.

'The committee in its own behalf, therefore, records

its protest to the bill and respectfully urges you to oppose its passage.

'VOTED that the Committee of Reference and Counsel transmit the resolution to the boards, raising the query as to whether similar action by the boards conveyed to the President and the senators might not be helpful in the present situation; and that the secretary be requested to report it as information to some of the foreign correspondents of the committee.' ⁴

The Southern Baptists are among the denominations deploring the naval construction program provided for in the Vinson Bill. The Southern Baptist Convention deplores 'the increase of armies and armaments, both land forces and naval' and calls 'upon the President and the Congress to desist from increasing, by a great program of naval construction, the likelihood of war and from laying additional tax burdens amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars upon a people already overburdened with taxation.' The Southern Baptists then added: 'In particular we are opposed to the passage of the Vinson Naval Construction Bill.' ⁵

The President and Congress are urged by the World Peace Commission of the Methodist Episcopal church to 'withhold appropriations required to carry out the naval building authorized by the Vinson Naval Bill.' ⁶ This commission also expressed disapproval of the principle of appropriating public works money for naval construction. The General Conference of the Colored Methodist Episcopal church has taken similar action, ⁷ while the 1934 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. summed up its convictions on this issue in the following resolution: '. . . We are opposed to the increase of our naval and other war forces, as both provocative to other nations and tending to induce "armament

ances," as indeed the threat of it already has done, but also as an inexcusable waste of the people's money and a burden they are not able to bear.'

The Vinson Bill was signed by the President on March 27, 1934. In putting his signature to this piece of legislation the President emphasized the fact that the Vinson Bill is merely an authorization, not an appropriation for naval construction. The President said: 'This is not a law for the construction of a single additional United States warship . . . the bill appropriates no money for such construction and the word "authorization" is, therefore, merely a statement of the policy of the present Congress. Whether it will be carried out depends on the action of future Congresses.'

Contrary to the explicit statement of the President, that authorization for the construction of the ships projected by the Vinson Bill rested with Congress, such construction is being initiated, in part, with an allocation of \$40,700,000 made available to the President by the Emergency Appropriation Act of 1935.

The churches, in view of the action taken both prior to and following the adoption of the Vinson Bill, can hardly be expected to approve this back-handed effort to increase the naval establishment of the United States.

In order to appreciate the full sweep of the interest of the churches in the movement for the reduction of armaments, it will be useful to delve into the record of numerous official church bodies. Many ecclesiastical assemblies urged the ratification of the treaties for the limitation of naval armaments negotiated at the Washington (1921-22) and London (1930) conferences. The United Lutheran Church in America, for example, speaking of the treaty negotiated at the Washington Conference, said: '. . . the steps toward disarmament taken

at the conference in Washington, in which we greatly rejoice, should be followed up speedily by further efforts to induce all the nations to reduce their armaments by mutual agreements to a purely peace basis such as would be required only for the preservation of good order and the security of life and property within their own borders.' ⁸

It has been pointed out in more than one church gathering that the naval tonnages agreed upon at these conferences are permissive, not mandatory. There is, therefore, a considerable body of opinion throughout the church at large which deplores the naval building program now being sponsored by the Roosevelt administration. Strong support has been given by the churches to every constructive proposal made by our own and other governments at the World Disarmament Conference.

The Northern Baptists ⁹ endorsed former President Hoover's declaration that 'it is folly for the world to go on breaking its back over military expenditures.' They advocate the abolition of all tanks, all chemical warfare, all bombing planes, and all large mobile guns. They ask for a reduction of one-third in the strength of all land armies over the so-called police component. They are not satisfied with the naval tonnages established at the Washington Conference in 1921-22 and at London in 1930. Going beyond the limitation already placed upon naval craft they urge a reduction of one-third in the treaty number and tonnage of battleships; a reduction of one-fourth in the treaty tonnage of aircraft carriers, cruisers and destroyers; a reduction of one-third in the treaty tonnage of submarines.

• The Northern Baptist Convention has recommended 'the appointment in every church of a committee on the prevention of war, with a view to informing our con-

stituency as to the seriousness of our international situation and the imperative need of conveying to responsible political leaders through petitions, letters, telegrams and personal interviews, our conviction that the United States of America must take the lead in standing for the largest possible reduction of armaments by international agreement.' ¹⁰ Deploing the mounting military costs of the federal government, the convention holds that 'the churches should resolutely oppose such increased expenditures, that they should work rather for reduction of military appropriations, and should throw the whole weight of their moral authority into a crusade for winning men's minds to the conviction that the security, peace and welfare of our country and the world depend in this age of science on constructive programs for the settlement of every form of strife.' ¹¹

The Congregational and Christian churches are outspoken in their denunciation of the race in armaments. They urge 'our churches and ministers by every possible means to bring public opinion to bear on this important (disarmament) matter and to induce our government to lead the way by drastic reduction in every kind of armament on land and sea and in the air.' They believe that the time has come 'to modify the name and purpose of the War and Navy Departments to the ends that they may be brought into harmony with the purpose of the peace pact to which we are committed.' ¹² Somewhat earlier the National Council of Congregational Churches advocated 'the abolition of military armaments by all nations except for an internal police force.' ¹³

When, in 1931, it was proposed to spend \$750,000,000 in naval construction, the International Convention of Disciples of Christ said: 'We believe such a procedure is out of keeping with our pledge to renounce war as an in-

strument of national policy, that it would lay upon the nation a burden of debt and taxation which it is at this time unable to bear, that it would make impossible other government construction which would benefit a much larger number of workers, and that to embark upon an era of naval building at this time would have a seriously adverse effect upon the peace of the world by creating suspicion of our motives and our plans.'¹⁴ The year before the convention declared that 'the existence of armaments on the present scale amongst the nations endangers the peace of the world. . . . We appeal for a determined effort to secure further reduction (beyond that achieved at the London Naval Conference, 1930) by international agreement, and to that end we favor action by the United States which will set an example which shall encourage other nations to make further reductions.'

The Evangelical church would discourage 'all militaristic propaganda favoring war preparations,'¹⁵ while the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, in session at a time when the World Disarmament Conference was in progress, said: 'The governments of fifty-nine nations having by the Pact of Paris officially renounced war, should now abolish weapons designed primarily for aggressive purposes. The drastic reduction or total abolition of such weapons, namely, tanks and heavy mobile guns, airplanes, airplane carriers and gas, would greatly enhance the significance of the peace pact, allay deep suspicions and fears among nations less prepared to make war, prevent rivalry in armaments among all nations, and insure the success of the Disarmament Conference now meeting in Geneva.'¹⁶

'The Methodist Protestants welcome 'every form of coöperative effort among men of good will to make militarism unpopular,'¹⁷ while the Presbyterian Church in the

U. S. A. believes 'that the United States ought to set an example to the world by adopting a program of progressive disarmament.'¹⁸ The Presbyterians also commend the disarmament and peace proposals contained in the message sent from the White House in May, 1933, to the heads of fifty-four governments.

The Episcopalians see in competitive armaments one of the causes of war. 'Excessive armaments,' it is said, 'arouse fears and suspicion and can never insure safety. The world today is spending close to five billion dollars annually (on armaments) while our own annual expenditures are upward of 750 million, the greatest of any single nation. Such a policy ill accords with the Kellogg pact or with the promises of the allied nations to Germany in the Treaty of Versailles. Moreover, it is fraught with grave danger to the peace of the world. Surely, it is high time we tried some other way; instead of proceeding on the illogical maxim, "In time of peace prepare for war," we might better follow the principle enunciated in the inscription on the gold pen presented to Mr. Kellogg when he signed the peace pact: "*Si vis pacem, para pacem*" — "If you wish peace, prepare for peace."' ¹⁹ Turning their attention to the World Disarmament Conference, the Episcopalians said: 'On its decisions will depend the course of the world for years or generations to come. As Christians we cannot view our country's participation (in the World Disarmament Conference) with indifference and we call upon all Christian people by prayer and effort to do their utmost to encourage our government to use its mighty influence, even at the cost of risk and sacrifice, to secure immediate substantial reduction of armament and to seize this great opportunity to set forward the peace of the world.'

The preachers of the General Synod of the Reformed

Church in America believe 'that the time has come when they (the nations) should renounce and abolish all weapons designed primarily for waging aggressive warfare. Therefore we endorse the suggestion of the American delegation at Geneva that tanks, heavy mobile guns and the use of poison gas be abolished. We also urge our delegation to seek the complete abolition of other weapons peculiar to offensive warfare; and to seek an agreement whereby the preparation of these offensive weapons will be prohibited both in time of war or peace. We further urge our delegation to seek an agreement whereby all nations hereafter shall progressively reduce their military budgets. Such action would go far in allaying fear and suspicion among the nations of the world and make way for their coöperation in the constructive enterprise of peace.'²⁰

Militant opposition to the proposed 1932 naval building program was expressed by the General Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States. 'We urge,' the synod said, 'a drastic reduction of armaments by our government and the defeat of the proposal now before Congress for the increase of our navy up to the strength allowed by the London Conference, so that the world may know that the Spirit of Christ rules in the minds and hearts of our people.'²¹ These preachers would go even further. 'We call upon our churches,' the synod said, 'our ministers and our members, to strive in every possible way to develop the spirit of international peace and good will, to support the peace movement for total disarmament. . . .'

The Seventh Day Baptists clearly state that they are desirous not merely of a limitation of arms but of drastic reduction as well. Among specific items in the disarmament program of this communion are the following: 'actual reduction, not mere limitation, of sea, land and air

armaments; progressive reduction of military budgets; immediate abolition of all government preparations and appropriations for poison gas and disease germ warfare; establishment of a Permanent Disarmament Commission to supervise the observance of the disarmament agreements.' ²²

With a presidential campaign in the offing, the American Unitarian Association recommended that the following declarations be incorporated in the platforms of the principal parties: 'limitation and drastic reduction of armaments and armament expenditures by international agreement and abolition of all offensive weapons; drastic reduction of our own military and naval budgets.' ²³ Somewhat earlier, the Unitarians urged that action be taken 'in order that the people of the churches may be prepared to coöperate with peace agencies, endorse and sign petitions to our government and take such other steps as may bring the force of public opinion in America to accomplish the successful issue of the forthcoming Disarmament Conference; specifically urging the government of the United States to formulate a constructive disarmament policy, to give serious consideration to proposals made by other nations who promise reduction in armaments, and to exert every influence at its command to insure the success of the conference. . . .' ²⁴ The Unitarians, in their campaign to ground arms, advocate acceptance of the principle of budgetary limitation; progressive reduction of military budgets; immediate direct reduction of naval armaments, including the abolition of submarine and of all surface vessels over 10,000 tons; prohibition of the preparation for and use of poison gas, chemical and bacteriological methods of warfare; establishment of a permanent Disarmament Commission; and the abolition of private manufacture of munitions. ²⁵

The Church of the United Brethren in Christ believes 'that disarmament should be carried forward to the point where our army and navy become an efficient police force only, "police force" being understood to be such armed forces as are corrective and remedial in their nature, strictly limited by law, and being inspired by good will for the common welfare.'²⁶ The United Presbyterians are on record as supporting 'our President, Herbert Hoover, in his efforts through the World Disarmament Conference and other means to reduce armaments and secure world peace, in keeping with our national honor and integrity.'²⁷

The Universalists believe that 'nothing is more vital than that nations shall gradually cease reliance upon instruments of war to promote peace.'²⁸ The American delegation at the World Disarmament Conference is urged by the General Convention of this communion to secure 'not merely a limitation of armaments on the present basis, but an actual reduction in military and naval budgets by at least twenty-five per cent; the absolute cessation by the nations of the manufacture of poison gas and the production of germs to be used in war; and the establishment of a Permanent Disarmament Commission.'

When, in 1930, the appropriations of the federal government for the maintenance of the army and navy exceeded \$700,000,000, the third National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, attended by the representatives of thirty-seven communions and allied religious organizations, adopted the following declaration: 'We hold that the churches should resolutely oppose such increased expenditures and that they should work for drastic reduction of military appropriations. The churches should throw the whole weight of their moral authority into a crusade for winning men's minds to the conviction that the security, peace and welfare of our country and the

world depend in this age of science on effectively demobilizing the armed agencies of death and on efficiently constructing and improving pacific agencies for the settlement of every form of strife.' ²⁹

Fundamentally, the demand of the churches for a reduction of armaments emerges out of their conviction that the sword of the spirit is a more potent instrument than the sword of militarism for the improvement of international relations. Politically, the churches cannot forget that the forced disarmament of Germany was accompanied by a solemn pledge on the part of the great military powers that they too would institute a program for the progressive reduction of armaments. Accordingly, the Federal Council of Churches has said: 'We believe that for the sake of world justice and peace the nations which defined weapons of aggression when disarming Germany should accept for themselves the implications of that decision. They should agree to put an end to their armaments for aggression. Such an agreement, we believe, would insure the success of the Disarmament Conference, bring about enormous economies, and instantly promote confidence and good will among the nations. . . . We appeal to our people and to our government to press for such a program with utmost vigor. We pray that all nations may unite in this program.' ³⁰

The Federal Council of Churches, in taking this action, had in mind the moral obligations devolving upon the principal military powers as a result of the forced disarmament of Germany. Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was stripped of her armaments. The German army was limited to 100,000 men recruited on a basis of voluntary enlistment and long service. Military conscription was abolished. Tanks and armored cars were forbidden, as were guns above a certain caliber. Trade in

arms and war materials was forbidden, and many fortresses and fortified works were abolished and prohibited in specific areas. Naval forces were limited to 6 battleships of not more than 10,000 tons each, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers and 12 torpedo boats. The total naval personnel was limited to 15,000 recruited on a basis of voluntary enlistment and long service. Submarines were abolished, as were the military and naval airplanes. Military dirigibles were banned. Germany, in accordance with the requirements laid down by Versailles, had, up to 1926, surrendered, destroyed, wrecked or sunk over 6,000,000 small firearms, 107,000 machine guns, 83,300 guns and mine-throwers, 38,750,000 charged artillery shells, 332,500 tons of uncharged artillery, ammunition, etc., 16,500,000 hand, rifle and catapult grenades, 473,000,000 munitions for small arms, 37,600 tons of powder, 17 airships, 14,014 airplanes, 27,757 plane motors, 26 battleships, 4 armored ships for coast defense, 19 small cruisers, 21 training and special ships, 83 torpedo boats and 315 submarines.

This forced disarmament of Germany was brought about, as stated in the Preamble of Part V of the Versailles Treaty, 'in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of armaments of all nations.' Moreover, the following letter to Germany from the Allied and Associated Powers of June 16, 1919, carried an even more definite promise of general disarmament: 'The Allied and Associated Powers wish to make it clear that their requirements in regard to German armaments were not made solely with the object of rendering it impossible for Germany to resume her policy of military aggression. They are also the first steps towards that general reduction and limitation of armaments which they seek to bring about as one of the most fruitful preventatives of war, and which

it will be one of the first duties of the League of Nations to promote.'

It may be argued, therefore, that the weapons of which Germany was deprived are the same kind of weapons which the principal military powers should long since have abandoned had they had any real intention of honoring their disarmament pledges.

Despite their solemn pledge to disarm, the great nations have increased their armaments and added to their military budgets. The churches have not forgotten this fact nor do they intend to forget it. The nations have regarded their treaty commitments to disarm as 'a scrap of paper.' With one hand they have forced Germany to disarm. With the other hand they have piled gun upon gun and ship upon ship. The churches regard such conduct as a piece of gigantic international hypocrisy. They do not propose to lend themselves to the maintenance of this sort of pagan world order. That is why the Federal Council of Churches believes that 'the nations which defined weapons of aggression when disarming Germany should accept for themselves the implications of that decision.' The nations cannot play fast and loose with their disarmament pledges and then expect the churches, in a moment of crisis, to give their moral support to these treaty-breaking governments. To do this would be to place a moral premium upon the violation of international commitments.

Prior to the convening of the World Disarmament Conference, the representatives of the denominations belonging to the Federal Council of Churches adopted a statement recommending the following policies: '(1) actual reduction, not mere limitation, of sea, land and air armaments; (2) an immediate initial reduction of significant proportions in the existing military budgets of the nations; (3) immediate abolition of all governmental preparations

and appropriations for poison-gas and disease-germ warfare; (4) establishment of a Permanent Disarmament Commission to supervise the observance of the disarmament agreements.^{' 31} Twenty-seven thousand copies of the petition embodying this fourfold program, providing for the signatures of over a half-million names, were distributed by church leaders among adherents of various communions. Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, general secretary of the Church Peace Union, was authorized by the Federal Council of Churches to act as its correspondent at Geneva during the period covered by the earlier stages of the Disarmament Conference. Japanese and Chinese guns were booming upon the Manchurian front and in the neighborhood of Shanghai at the precise moment when the conference was being called to order. This situation, viewed by many jingoists and alarmists as a reason for indefinitely postponing the conference, was looked upon by the Federal Council and other church bodies as a circumstance requiring a speedy and drastic reduction of armaments by the military powers.

'The rapidly increasing horrors consequent upon military action in the Far East,' the council said, 'vividly reveal the appalling situation created in the world by great armaments and the ready resort to their use. The administrative committee . . . regards present conditions in Shanghai as a clarion call to the nations, our own included, to redouble their efforts to achieve a radical reduction of armament and to strengthen the institutions of world peace. Instead of treating the chaotic conditions in the Orient as indicating the futility of the Geneva Conference, we regard them as demonstrating the absolute necessity for holding the conference and making it a complete success.'³²

Despite the undeclared war in the Far East, the con-

ference met and during the earlier stages of the negotiations the churches generally supported the proposals advanced by many delegations, including that of the United States to abolish weapons peculiarly fitted for aggression. The Federal Council of Churches, in supporting these proposals, said: 'The governments of fifty-nine nations, having by the Pact of Paris officially renounced war, should now renounce and abolish weapons designed primarily for aggressive purposes. The drastic reduction or total abolition of such weapons would greatly enhance the significance of the peace pact, allay deep suspicions and fears among all nations less prepared to make war, prevent rivalry in armaments among all nations, and tend to insure the success of the Disarmament Conference. With aggressive weapons abolished, national security will be greatly increased, and reductions in military budgets certain and large. Armaments among all nations would be strictly limited to the status of a police force for the maintenance of law and order.'³³

As the months wore on, the churches demanded more and more of the conference. Churchmen had been loath to recommend a percentage cut in military forces and military budgets. Presently there was a widespread demand for a cut of at least ten per cent, then twenty-five per cent, then thirty-three per cent. During the beginning stage of the conference, the churches had little to say regarding naval ratios, the assumption being that the projected naval conference of 1935 would take up this question. The churches, in many instances, are now asking for an immediate reduction of naval armaments below the level agreed upon at the Washington and London Conferences. Two or three years ago, the question of military aviation did not bulk large on the agendas of church gatherings. There

is now a deep-seated conviction among many churchmen that military aviation will have to be wholly abolished if peace is to prevail.

The Federal Council of Churches has urged the complete abolition of all naval and military aircraft. A delegation representing this interchurch organization interviewed Secretary of State Hull³⁴ and laid before him a statement of the council's disarmament policies with respect to military aviation, from which the following is taken:

'The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America believes that the well-being of the United States intimately depends on the well-being of the world as a whole and that this in turn depends on the unqualified success of the Disarmament Conference in reducing arms and in establishing right conditions for enduring peace. In such an outcome the churches, committed to the gospel of brotherhood and peace, are supremely interested. We accordingly express our earnest hope that our government will authorize its delegation to the conference vigorously to support large and courageous plans looking toward a drastic reduction of armaments.

'The extraordinary menace of aerial warfare to civilian populations creates mental and moral reactions that are peculiarly inimical to right and friendly international relations and to all spiritual values. We therefore believe that the complete abolition of all naval and military aircraft, except for police purposes, is an essential part of any effective disarmament program. We earnestly hope that our government will cordially cooperate with the nations in such a program. In order to make this possible we urge cooperation by the United States in perfecting plans for the international super-

vision of civilian aviation, with a view to preventing the misuse of such aviation for military purposes.'

Months passed and the conference seemed unable or unwilling to reach an agreement. After more than a year of debate, the conference adjourned in June, 1933, to meet again in the following October. Germany, meanwhile, had withdrawn from the conference and talk of a European war filled the air. The nations were drifting deeper and deeper into the doldrums of despair. The Federal Council of Churches, taking note of the approaching reconvening of the conference, expressed its concern over the repeated delays that had thus far obstructed the progress of the negotiations. The council said:

'Called together for the high purpose of delivering mankind from the menace of a competitive militarism, the nations participating in the conference have deferred action until today the world stands upon the brink of international disaster.

'We cannot blind our eyes to the gravity of the existing world situation. A threatening war hysteria is manifesting itself in many places. In many lands there is heard the voice of those who declare that might makes right, that guns are the only effective instruments of national security.

'Preparations for war continue despite the solemn pledges of nations to use only peaceful means in the settlement of their international disputes. Our government, even though within its treaty rights, has launched, to our sincere regret, a \$238,000,000 (Public Works) naval building program. Other great powers continue to spend vast sums upon their military and naval establishments. Moreover, these armaments, involving as they do the expenditure of billions of dollars annually, gravely hamper the efforts now in progress to achieve

world economic recovery. We cannot give our moral approval to the continuance of a system of armaments which upon the one hand fosters the war spirit and upon the other hand endangers the economic well-being of people everywhere.

‘The time has come for bold and decisive action. We voice again our insistent desire for an immediate and drastic reduction of world armaments. We see no reason why further naval reductions cannot be immediately provided for without waiting for the projected naval conference in 1935. Such an agreement would make possible the scaling down of the naval building programs of our own and other governments’.

‘We strongly believe that the process of reducing armaments should be continued. We give our moral support to our government’s proposal that the United States will not interfere with collective action against a nation recognized by all to be an aggressor. We commend likewise the acceptance by the United States of the principle of international supervision of armaments, provided arrangements are made for an immediate reduction of existing armaments.

‘Specifically, we believe that an effective disarmament treaty should contain the following minimum provisions: (1) substantial reduction of existing armaments; (2) effective supervision of armaments and of arms manufacture and trade; (3) abolition of aggressive weapons within a definite period; (4) limitation of expenditure to prevent rivalries in armaments; (5) a permanent organization to carry on the work begun by the Disarmament Conference.

‘We appeal to all the members of our churches to join in earnest prayer that the negotiating statesmen will be

given spiritual strength sufficient to meet the challenge of the present hour.

'We direct our Department of International Justice and Goodwill to transmit a copy of this statement to the President, to the Secretary of State, to the Secretary of the Navy, to the American delegation at Geneva, and to the President of the World Disarmament Conference.' ³⁵

Later in the fall of 1933, when the imminent failure of the World Disarmament Conference seemed likely, many churches coöperated with certain national peace agencies in an intensive disarmament campaign in which the following six points were stressed: (1) substantial reduction of existing armaments; (2) no re-armament; (3) abolition of aggressive weapons within a definite period and with the immediate elimination of all bombing from the air, of the air weapon in general and of poison gas; (4) limitation of expenditure to prevent rivalries in armaments; (5) effective supervision of existing armaments and of arms manufacture and trade; and (6) a permanent organization to carry out the above provisions and to carry on the work begun by the Disarmament Conference.

The *Journal* of the League of Nations ³⁶ carries the names of the many scores of churches that participated in this nation-wide demand for bold and aggressive action at Geneva. There is also listed in this publication the names of national and state organizations of religion which had transmitted to the President of the World Disarmament Conference resolutions and petitions demanding that an end be put to the race in armaments. One will also find in this issue of the *Journal* the names of many prominent churchmen who sent individual messages to the officers of the conference.

The Federal Council of Churches, in December, 1933, sent a second delegation to the State Department expressing again its concern over the delays at Geneva and declaring that 'the apparent unwillingness of the great military powers to negotiate a disarmament treaty is a matter of profound disappointment to the Christian thinking people of our own and we believe of other lands.' The statement laid before the Under-Secretary of State went on to say:

'The churches of Christ in America are practically unanimous in their determination to work for a drastic reduction of the world's armaments. The spending of four and one-half billion dollars annually upon military establishments at a time when poverty, hunger and economic destitution are widespread is nothing short of an economic scandal. The churches cannot remain silent in the presence of this pagan misappropriation of the world's wealth upon the implements of human destruction.

'We strongly urge our government to do everything within its power to assure the success of the World Disarmament Conference.

'We urge our government to continue the efforts to secure the negotiation of a disarmament treaty. To this end we suggest (1) that our representatives be returned to the seat of the Disarmament Conference at an early date, (2) that the so-called "aggressive weapons," including the air weapon, be wholly abolished, (3) that armament expenditures be drastically reduced and that provisions be made for the limitation in the future of the military budgets of all nations, (4) that a permanent organization be created to exercise a strict supervision of existing armaments, including their manufacture and sale. . . . We believe that if

an agreement can be reached along these lines there will be little difficulty in framing a treaty.'

The Disarmament Conference resumed its sessions on May 29, 1934. The French delegation insisted that disarmament negotiations be discontinued until guarantees of security and mutual assistance were forthcoming. The British, on the other hand, insisted that negotiations be instituted looking toward the return of Germany to the conference. Mr. Norman Davis, on behalf of the United States, offered a compromise proposal that the conference work toward a treaty providing for an increase of defensive arms and a substantial reduction of aggressive weapons. Mr. Davis also stated that the United States would be willing to subscribe to a treaty placing the traffic in arms and munitions under strict international control. But no agreement was possible. Finally in order to prevent the permanent disruption of the conference a resolution was adopted in which it was agreed that further negotiations be carried on partly by the governments themselves, partly by the Conference Bureau, partly by the four following committees: security, supervision and guarantees of execution, military aviation, and the traffic in arms. The Conference Bureau was asked to draft a complete treaty for submission to the General Commission.

The churches generally are determined to resist the efforts of those who would either enlarge existing military establishments or maintain them at existing levels and to support all constructive efforts designed to reduce armaments until all armies, navies and air forces have been reduced to the status of a police force. If the World Disarmament Conference should fail of its primary purpose, the churches will continue their efforts to secure a drastic reduction of the military establishments of the various nations.

Thousands of church people will agree with Dr. Albert W. Beaven, president of the Federal Council of Churches, that the present race in armaments, unless stopped, will lead the nations to war. Dr. Beaven says:

'In looking back at the last great war, we were so impressed with the hellishness of its methods, with its threat to our racial existence, with its utter futility, that almost with unanimity the nations outlawed war as a method of settling international disputes. In the light of that declaration, reduction of armaments was proposed, and we held a conference to forward that end. Now, however, all appears changed, a new race for arms seems in full swing. Spurred on by fear, stimulated by forces seeking profit in armament even at the expense of human lives, we and other nations take on new burdens to buy instruments to cut each other's throats. In spite of armament expenditures already back-breaking, we now borrow money to build a new fleet, while others, watching us, rush to do the same thing. We are told that chemical armaments are on the increase, poison gas preparations on an unparalleled scale are being produced, bacteriological armaments are being prepared, air armaments are increasing, and so much is it taken for granted that civilian populations will be threatened, that Denmark has recently announced that gas-masks of various sizes are now on sale for the civilian population.

'But what if this continues, does anyone doubt what the end will be? We cannot help but know that, if we allow ourselves to be launched on this current of fear and competitive hate, there is but one result. A man of another color said to me recently: "People of my race once wondered if the white man might not destroy us from the face of the earth, but now we wonder whether,

if we wait awhile, the white race may not destroy itself and leave the world to us." That man is not the only one who, looking down the road we are now traveling, can see ahead the battlefield where we of the white race may march to our racial suicide.

'If it is only partly true that we have come to such a moment, then now, if ever, we need those sections of our population who see the danger, who follow Him who uttered the solemn warning that "they who take the sword shall perish by the sword," to be able to mobilize their constituency and present their protest.'³⁷

Many of the churches, in the light of all that they have been saying on the question of armaments, seem determined to resist to the last the trial by battle. They look with unqualified disapproval upon the present piling up of armaments in the name of peace. Vast numbers of Christian thinking people are turning a deaf ear to the sophistries of the swashbucklers that colossal military establishments provide security against attack. They do not propose to have their thinking done for them either by the private armament manufacturers whose 'patriotism' yields them a handsome profit or by the politicians who fill the halls of Congress with their bombastic oratory in favor of gigantic military forces.

However much their actions may aggravate the professional military, a considerable number of churches are taking quite literally the affirmation of Jesus that 'they who take the sword shall perish by the sword.' They, like the Master whom they seek to serve, are saying to the nations the same thing that Jesus said to one of his 'preparedness' disciples, 'Put up again thy sword into its place.'

NOTES ON CHAPTER III

- ¹ Federal Council of Churches, executive committee, January, 1934.
- ² *The New York Times*, February 11, 1934.
- ³ March, 1934.
- ⁴ February, 1934.
- ⁵ Southern Baptist Convention, 1934.
- ⁶ World Peace Commission, Methodist Episcopal church, May, 1934.
- ⁷ Colored Methodist Episcopal church, General Conference, 1934.
- ⁸ United Lutheran church, Conference, 1922.
- ⁹ Northern Baptist Convention, 1932.
- ¹⁰ Northern Baptist Convention, 1931.
- ¹¹ Northern Baptist Convention, 1930.
- ¹² Congregational and Christian churches, General Council, 1931.
- ¹³ Congregational churches, National Council, 1925.
- ¹⁴ Disciples of Christ, International Convention, 1931.
- ¹⁵ Evangelical church, General Conference, 1930.
- ¹⁶ Methodist Episcopal church, General Conference, 1932.
- ¹⁷ Methodist Protestant church, General Conference, 1932.
- ¹⁸ Presbyterian church in the U. S. A., General Assembly, 1933.
- ¹⁹ Protestant Episcopal church, General Convention, 1931.
- ²⁰ Reformed Church in America, General Synod, 1932.
- ²¹ Reformed Church in the U. S., General Synod, 1932.
- ²² Seventh Day Baptist church, General Conference, 1931.
- ²³ American Unitarian Association, Annual Meeting, 1932.
- ²⁴ American Unitarian Association, Annual Meeting, 1931.
- ²⁵ American Unitarian Association, Biennial Conference, 1931.
- ²⁶ Church of the United Brethren in Christ, General Conference, 1929.
- ²⁷ United Presbyterian church, General Assembly, 1931.
- ²⁸ Universalist church, General Convention, 1931.
- ²⁹ National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, 1930.
- ³⁰ Federal Council of Churches, Quadrennial Meeting, 1932.
- ³¹ Federal Council of Churches, executive committee, 1931.
- ³² Federal Council of Churches, administrative committee, February, 1932.
- ³³ Federal Council of Churches, administrative committee, April, 1932.
- ³⁴ April 17, 1933.
- ³⁵ Federal Council of Churches, executive committee, September, 1933.
- ³⁶ October 26, 1933.
- ³⁷ Address delivered at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Meeting of the Federal Council of Churches, December 6, 1933, at Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCHES AND THE TRAFFIC IN ARMS

The traffic in arms and munitions is falling under the moral condemnation of the churches. As long ago as 1921, the Temporary Mixed Commission of the League of Nations, after investigating the traffic in arms, made the following significant observations: '(1) that armament firms have been active in fomenting war scares and in persuading their own countries to adopt warlike policies and to increase their armaments; (2) that armament firms have attempted to bribe government officials both at home and abroad; (3) that armament firms have disseminated false reports concerning the military and naval programs of various countries in order to stimulate armament expenditures; (4) that armament firms have sought to influence public opinion through the control of newspapers in their own and foreign countries; (5) that armament firms have organized international armament rings through which the armaments race has been accentuated by playing off one country against another; and (6) that armament firms have organized international armament trusts which have increased the price of armaments to governments.'¹

After the publication of these charges little if any action was taken by the United States or by any other responsible government. Emboldened by the apparent indifference of statesmen to their activities, armament manufacturers continued to ply their trade. Finally, after years of de-

lay, the peace-loving people of many lands insisted that the arms traffic be placed under the restraint of law. Agitation developed looking toward the placing of an embargo on arms and munitions to nations violating the world's peace. The so-called 'international armament ring' was roundly denounced by the public leaders of the principal arms-producing states. The question of placing an effective international curb on the traffic in arms bulked large on the agenda of the World Disarmament Conference. A treaty providing for a limited control over the manufacture and sale of war materials which had been negotiated in Geneva in 1925 and which had been 'pigeon-holed' by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for more than eight years was ratified by the Senate.²

The Congress, following a little prodding by President Roosevelt, adopted legislation empowering the administration to place a ban on the shipment of arms to Bolivia and Paraguay.³ The Senate, in adopting the Nye-Vandenberg Resolution,⁴ authorized a sweeping investigation of the armament industry. President Roosevelt, describing the private and uncontrolled manufacture and sale of arms and munitions as 'a serious source of international discord and strife,' recommended that the Senate Munitions Inquiry Committee 'receive the generous support of the Senate in order that it may be enabled to pursue the investigation with which it is charged with a degree of thoroughness commensurate with the high importance of the question at issue.' The President added that the executive departments of the government would 'be charged to coöperate with the committee to the fullest extent in furnishing it with any information in their possession which it may desire to receive, and their views upon the adequacy or inadequacy of existing legislation and of the treaties to which the

United States is a party for the regulation and control of the manufacture of and traffic in arms.' ⁵

The Nye Resolution authorizing an investigation of America's armament-makers carries among its instructions the following: 'To investigate the activities of individuals and of corporations in the United States engaged in the manufacture, sale, distribution, import or export of arms, munitions or other implements of war; the nature of the industrial and commercial organizations engaged in the manufacture of or traffic in arms, munitions or other implements of war; the methods used in promoting or effecting the sale of arms, munitions or other implements of war; the quantities of arms, munitions or other implements of war imported into the United States and the countries of origin thereof, and the quantities exported from the United States and the countries of destination thereof; and . . . to inquire into the desirability of creating a government monopoly in respect to the manufacture of armaments and munitions and other implements of war, and to submit recommendations thereon.'

While the munition-makers were being thus dealt with by the Congress of the United States negotiations were being initiated at Geneva looking toward the delegalization, in part, of the international traffic in military materials and war weapons.

It is one of the strange anomalies of our boasted civilization that governments will actually exercise themselves in behalf of peace and then permit their respective nationals to engage in a traffic through which the instruments of war are put into the hands of peoples and governments bent upon destroying peace. It is little wonder, therefore, that many church bodies are convinced that mankind will never be entirely free from the menace of a military des-

potism until the business of making and selling arms and munitions is placed under strict national and international control. Before comment is made upon the action taken by various church bodies on this question it will be useful to make a cursory examination of the trade in arms and munitions, stressing those phases of the traffic that have significance for the churches.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, former Foreign Minister of Great Britain, has told the story of a certain gun which was captured by English soldiers in the World War and which now stands as a military memorial in one of the English parks. On one part of the gun there is an inscription recording how British troops captured it in a hard-fought action; on another part of the gun there is the name of the British firm by which it had been manufactured. Here is a gun, made in England by an English manufacturer, sold to Germany at a price that yielded a handsome profit to the English industrialist, and used by the Germans in mowing down the sons of England! Who said we were civilized? What Mr. Henderson told about this particular gun might also be said about many other implements of war. Nations, many of them, in permitting their nationals to engage in the private manufacture of armaments, become in effect a party to the crime of murdering their own citizenry. Why should a private manufacturer be permitted to sell armaments to any country for private profit when, given a world such as we have, these same armaments might at some future time be trained upon his fellow-citizens?

It has been said that when the British fought the Boers in South Africa they encountered foes equipped with British-made arms; that the Russians in 1905 fought the Japanese with military supplies made in Great Britain, then Japan's ally; that American expeditions sent into

Mexico to attack Tampico and Vera Cruz in pursuit of Villa were met with munitions manufactured in the United States; that before the World War the German armament firm of Krupp sold a process for making nickel steel to armament firms in America and elsewhere and a patent for making hand-grenade fuses to the British; that during the war German-made Parseval airships were used by the British to sink German submarines, and they were also to be found in the armaments of Russia and Japan; that when British warships attacked Constantinople one was sunk in the Dardanelles by a British-made mine; and in the Gallipoli campaign, British soldiers were slaughtered by British guns sold to Turkey; that at the close of the World War, Turkey fought Greeks and British with ammunition bought from France, their ally; that when the French attacked Abdel Krim and the Riffs in Morocco, they were met by French-made guns.

Fenner Brockway, writing in the *Christian Century*,⁶ describes the way in which armament firms engage in an interlocking conspiracy for profits at the price of humans. 'German soldiers,' he said, 'were killed by the thousands with grenades to which were attached Krupp patent fuses. (After the war Krupp started legal proceedings to claim twenty-five cents per fuse on 2,000,000 fuses used to decimate German soldiers.) German soldiers were entangled and bayoneted on barbed wire made by German firms *during the war*. German vessels were sunk, and their crews drowned, by fire from the British using German gun-sights. German troops were blown to bits by French, Italian and Russian guns and cannon made with iron and steel supplied from Germany *during the war*. The infantry of the allies went into battle wearing German-made shields. The Russian navy was built with German capital, and American armaments were constructed by

corporations in which German capital was heavily invested. 'British (and no doubt American) crews were sent to the bottom of the sea by torpedoes, submarines and mines made in the dockyard of a British firm. The British and Australian troops in the Dardanelles were massacred by guns and forts built by a British firm. The regiments of the allies of France in the Balkans were destroyed by guns and cannon supplied to Bulgaria by a French firm. The British and American troops in France and Flanders were mowed down by armaments constructed with nickel supplied *during the war* by a British-American firm.' We are then informed by the writer that the British head of the firm just referred to was subsequently made a knight for his war-time services!

Armament manufacturers are interested in breaking up disarmament conferences. This fact was made evident by the Shearer incident in 1927. On the pay roll of certain large ship-building concerns Mr. Shearer traveled to Geneva in 1927 where a naval conference was being convened at the invitation of the President of the United States. The effect of Mr. Shearer's activities at Geneva was to make more difficult the negotiation of a treaty for the limitation of naval tonnages. Here was the government of the United States seeking to cut down naval establishments. Here, also, was the paid representative of the shipbuilders doing what he could to sabotage the conference. President Hoover publicly condemned the secret manipulations of Shearer at Geneva, and the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs put this paid patrioteer on the witness stand where he was obliged to tell his story to the American people. The heads of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation and the American Brown Boveri Electric Corporation, the concerns that employed Shearer,

declared that their paid propagandist had been sent to Geneva simply as an 'observer.'

It is doubtful whether a single person in the United States believed that this 'big navy' man was sent to Geneva just to look around and see what he might see! At least President Hoover did not attach much weight to the efforts to explain away this incident, as shown by his statement to the press: 'This propagandist has, during the past few years, organized zealous support for increased armament and has been a severe critic of all efforts of our government to secure international agreement for the reduction of naval arms, which include activities at the Geneva Conference and opposition to the movement which I have initiated in the past three months. A part of this propaganda has been directed to create international distrust and hate. Every American has the right to express his opinion and to engage in open propaganda if he wishes, but it is obviously against public interest for those who have financial interest in, or may be engaged in contracts for, the construction of naval vessels, to secretly attempt to influence public opinion or public officials by propaganda in favor of larger armaments and attempt to defeat the efforts of governments in world limitation of such armaments or to employ persons for such purpose.'

Armament manufacturers are the same the world over. They are thinking primarily of profits, not of peace. During 1933 the people of the Balkan States were stirred by the scandal that developed about the person of M. Bruno Seletzki, a representative of the Skoda armament firm located in Czechoslovakia. Seletzki was the mouthpiece of the armament manufacturers. He was the representative of the Skoda people at Bucharest. His secret machinations were discovered and he was arrested. It was alleged that he had sought to influence politicians who

were in a position to throw business to his armament employers. High officials of the Rumanian army were said to have been involved in the scandal. General Sica Popescu, an Army Corps Commander, who had been Secretary-General, had arranged for a very large ordinance order with Skoda. When the Seletzki scandal broke this army official committed suicide. His files are said to have revealed correspondence between himself and Seletzki which strongly intimated that bribery had been resorted to between the Rumanian military officer and the scheming spokesman of the Skoda firm.⁷

The Union of Democratic Control, of London, has recently published a pamphlet, entitled 'Patriotism, Ltd. — An Exposure of the War Machine,' in which the secret contriving of the armament manufacturers is brought out into the open. The appendix of this publication is entitled 'Briey: A Moral For Patriots.' The story told in the appendix is almost unbelievable. It is the story of the so-called 'gentlemen's agreement' entered into by the armament manufacturers of France and Germany at the very hour when thousands of Frenchmen and Germans were being butchered upon the Western front. The scene of the story is laid in Briey, an iron center. From Briey, near the frontier, the German armament manufacturers received the raw materials out of which cannon were made, while from Bruay and the coal basin of Pas de Calais, also near the frontier, the frontier remained in comparative quiet despite the terrific bombardment which had continued for many months along other sectors of the Franco-German front. And why the quiet? According to the writer of the above-mentioned publication, the man in charge of the bombing operations was none other than Lieutenant Lejeune, an employee of the *Comité des Forges* (French steel trust).

L'Information, a French financial journal, under date of February 16, 1919, summed up the situation in the following language: 'The motive of this prohibition of which the aviation officers speak seems, according to rumors, to have been due to a tacit agreement between the belligerents. It would seem that we said to the Germans: "We will not bombard Briey, from which you get your iron ore, if you will respect, on your side, Bruay and the coal basin of Pas de Calais."' In the French Chamber of Deputies, Deputy Barthe made the following sensational declaration, a declaration, by the way, which was left unchallenged: 'I affirm that either by the fact of the international solidarity of the great metallurgy companies, or in order to safeguard private business interests, our military chiefs were ordered not to bombard the establishments of the Briey basin, which were being exploited by the enemy during the war. I affirm that our aviation service received instructions to respect the blast furnaces in which the enemy steel was being made, and that a general who wished to bombard them was reprimanded.' In speaking of this incident another French deputy, M. Flandin, remarked: 'There was a means of shortening the war, and this means was neglected for more than two years. War, for those who manufacture the weapons of death, is a good business.'

Late in 1932 the European and American press carried the story of the so-called Hirtenberg incident. Contrary to treaty specifications, a shipment of arms had been sent from Italy to Hungary, by way of Austria. One consignment of these arms came to light in the little Austrian village, Hirtenberg. From Hirtenberg it had been the custom to transport arms by motor into Hungary. In this and other illegal and undercover ways certain countries were being supplied with arms at the

precise moment when efforts were being made at Geneva to negotiate a disarmament treaty!

And the English press, in the middle of August 1933, carried a story to the effect that a representative of Vickers had been deported from Turkey. The duplicity of the armament manufacturers is commented on by the Rev. P. E. T. Widdrington, an English churchman, in the following manner: 'Did not Vickers bribe the Japanese admiral Fujii — and were not three other firms incriminated in the proceedings taken against the admiral by the Japanese government? Did not the *Japanese Weekly Chronicle* reply to the criticisms that appeared in our press on the subject of Japanese venality by retorting that the armament business was grossly immoral and the "profession" of arms had become sordidly money-grubbing and corrupt?'⁸

It is being said that Thyssen, of the German Steel Trust, political heir of Stinnes, the former war agitator, financed Hitler's National Socialist campaign, and that Skoda, the Czech armament combine controlled by Schneider-Creusot (French), has been supplying arms to the Nazis. There is patriotism for you — a French armament ring supplying Germany with the arms that may some day be used against Frenchmen.

Further light is thrown upon the interlocking interests of various armament concerns by Fenner Brockway, who points to the connecting links between Vickers-Armstrong of Britain, Schneider-Creusot of France, Skoda of Czechoslovakia, and Mitsui of Japan.⁹ According to this writer there is a link between Mitsui of Japan, Skoda of Czechoslovakia, and Curtiss-Wright, an American firm. This writer also points to the close association already obtaining between the chemical manufacturers of the various nations. Speaking of the 'poison gas international,' Mr.

Brockway says: 'There are three principal firms — Imperial Chemicals of Britain, the I. G. Farbenindustrie of Germany, and Du Pont de Nemours in the United States. The I. C. I. of Britain is associated with the I. G. F. of Germany. The British I. C. I. and Du Pont de Nemours are joint owners of the Canadian I. C. I. Between them the I. C. I. of Britain and the I. G. F. of Germany have associations with companies in practically every European country, as well as Asiatic countries, including Japan. The I. G. F. has links with the U. S. A. chemical industrial through the Grasselli Dyestuffs Corporation of Cleveland.'

Nor is this all. During the period covered by the World Disarmament Conference three undeclared wars were being waged, one in the Far East and two in South America. Arms, munitions and other military implements were being supplied in part to these nations by the private armament manufacturers of the United States, England, France, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere. While the diplomats were sitting up nights in a vain attempt to arrive at an agreement for a reduction of armaments the manufacturers of military weapons were filling the orders that were coming in from Latin America and from the Far East. What an anomalous situation! Preachers who would ground their arms would do well to reflect upon this aspect of the peace problem.

The United States at the time of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria sent a series of notes to Tokio lamenting the fact that Japan had violated the spirit of the Pact of Paris and the Nine-Power Treaty of the Pacific while at the same time the Washington government was permitting the makers of military weapons to ship their wares to the Far East! The United States, through diplomatic channels, was trying to restore peace in Manchuria while at the same time the armament manufacturers of our own

and other arms-producing countries were supplying their full share of the weapons and munitions being used in this undeclared war. It is the patriotism of peace versus the patriotism of steel, profits and gunpowder. Patriots die while the traffic in arms yields tremendous profits to the manufacturers of military weapons. And this is the sort of thing that often masquerades under the name of patriotism.

Similarly, the United States exercised its good offices in an attempt to bring to an end the war between Bolivia and Paraguay, and between Colombia and Peru. Where did the arms come from which made possible the continuance of these wars? From the armament manufacturers of the United States and certain European nations. From January 1932 to June 1933 British firms sent to Bolivia 2,130,550 rounds of ammunition, 99 machine guns and 6 tanks. From January 1932 to January 1933 British firms sent to Paraguay 16,570,000 cartridges and 50 ammunition belts. From January 1933 to June 1933 British firms sent to Peru 139,000 cartridges, 9,000 rounds of ammunition, 12 aircraft machine guns, and 42 bomb carriers, while from January 1933 to June 1933 British firms sent to Colombia 532,000 cartridges, 5,819 kilos T.N.T., and 230 fuse lighters. During the first seven months of 1933 English firms exported to China 29,000,000 Mauser cartridges, 360,000 smoke cartridges, 216,000 rifle cartridges, 100,000 revolver cartridges, 30,000 automatic rifles, 200 automatic revolvers, 250 rifles, 25 machine guns, 4 standard guns and 3 moth airplanes.

The shipment of arms and munitions to Japan has not been on so large a scale due to the highly developed arms business in that country. According to one observer, the Mitsubishi arms firm in Japan has made tremendous profits during the period covered by the Japanese invasion

of the Asiatic mainland. A wireless message to the *New York Times*, under a London date line, February 22, 1933, furnishes figures regarding the amounts of ammunition exported from Great Britain to Japan in 1932. The figures are 5,361,450 rounds of small arms ammunition, 740 automatic machine guns, 19,000 cartridge cases, and 549,808 pounds of high explosives.

It is reported that exports of arms from France increased from 59 to 124 million francs for the first eight months of 1932 compared to the same period in 1931.

The total value of world trade in war materials between 1921 and 1930 has exceeded \$600,000,000. The distribution of world trade in arms among the principal industrial countries in 1930 was: Great Britain 30.8 per cent, France 12.9, United States 11.7, Czechoslovakia 9.6, Sweden 7.8, Italy 6.8, The Netherlands 5.4, and Belgium 4.4. In that year three countries, Great Britain, France and the United States, exported 55 per cent of the international trade in arms and munitions. The private arms manufacturers of these three countries have supplied approximately 75 per cent — more than \$459,000,000 — of all the war materials exported since 1920. The value of American arms exports since 1920 totals \$155,510,100. Among the purchasers of arms from the United States are Canada, Mexico, and the Central and South American countries; 349 machine guns, valued at \$225,000, were sold by one American firm to Argentina in 1929. In 1932, during the period covered by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, American exports to Japan increased from \$147,213 in 1931, to \$371,635. In 1931 American arms exports to China totaled \$1,115,797.

It is estimated that the value of firearms and munitions, airplanes, airplane equipment and parts exported by private American firms during the first ten months of 1933

amount to just over \$10,000,000, as compared with \$7,734,000 for the full year 1931, and \$10,580,000 for the year 1932. The value of exports in airplane and airplane equipment is steadily rising, the total for the first ten months in 1933 amounting to \$7,885,000, as compared with \$4,800,000 in 1931 and \$7,630,000 in 1932. The largest purchasers of American aircraft are China and certain South American countries. China, in 1932, bought approximately \$200,000 worth of American airplanes. During the first ten months of 1933 American firms sold to China almost \$1,500,000 worth of airplanes and airplane equipment.

Nationals of the United States have been exporting military supplies and war materials to Bolivia and Paraguay and by that action have prolonged the needless slaughter of humans in the Chaco swamp lands. During 1933 and the first three months of 1934 American firms are said to have exported more than \$750,000 in armaments to Bolivia and Paraguay. These exports consisted in part of revolvers, pistols, metallic cartridges, machine guns, cannon, aircraft and aircraft engines. The value of aircraft exports to Bolivia during this period totaled approximately \$300,000. Large shipments of war materials have been made to Argentina within late years. It is generally believed that these military supplies were being sent in this roundabout fashion to Paraguay.

Nationals of Great Britain have contributed their full share to make possible the continuance of the bloody war in the Chaco. According to John Eppstein, British delegate to the recently convened International Federation of League of Nations Societies, an agent of one of the better known British armament firms secured on one occasion an order for £1,500,000 worth of arms from Bolivia. At the same time his colleague was picking up orders in Para-

guay. 'While a delegate of the British government was seeking with his colleagues in the Council of the League of Nations to compose the conflict, licenses were issued, according to information given to the House of Commons, for the export by British firms of more than 2,000,000 rounds of ammunition to one belligerent and more than 16,000,000 to the other.'¹⁰

An even more shameful aspect of the traffic in arms is the fact that while men die on the battlefield in the belief that they are fighting for the glory and honor of the homeland the private manufacturers of arms and munitions are reaping a handsome profit. According to the records of the London Stock Exchange, the Skoda Works, a Czech armament concern allied to Schneider, a French armament concern, has paid the following dividends in recent years: in 1920, 5 per cent; 1924, 12½ per cent; 1927, 17½ per cent; and in 1929 and 1930, 28½ per cent. These dividends have doubtless increased as a result of the military operations in the Far East. It has been reported that upon the threat of hostilities between China and Japan, stocks of armament firms and allied interests advanced from 20 to 160 points.

The issued capital of Vickers (English), the world's largest private armament firm, was \$80,000,000 in 1930, as against \$27,700,000 in 1914. Dr. Addison, minister of munitions in Great Britain, is said to have given instances of prices being charged the British government which represented dividends of over 100 per cent while the committee on war expenditures instituted by the Senate in 1921 gave instances of copper companies making profits of 60, 150, and even 300 per cent. In the three years prior to the World War, the United States Steel Corporation earned \$180,000,000. In the three years, 1916-17-18, it earned \$621,000,000 net profit.

Du Pont profits skyrocketed and a dividend of 100 per cent on its common stock was paid in 1916. Forty per cent of the ammunition used by the allies during the World War is said to have been manufactured by Du Pont. The stock of Du Pont de Nemours & Company increased 5,000 per cent during the war. From a peace-time average yearly profit of \$1,271,000, the average yearly profits of the Hercules Powder Company during the four war years jumped to \$7,430,000. Corresponding figures for Bethlehem Steel are: peace-time profit \$6,840,000, war-time profit \$49,427,000; United States Steel: peace-time profit \$105,331,000, war-time profit \$239,653,000; Du Pont: peace-time profit \$6,092,000, war-time profit \$58,076,000."¹¹

The boys in the trenches are shot and buried in cold, damp graves while the armament manufacturers add to their profits. The more men who die, the greater the profits for those who make the guns, bayonets, poison gas and armor plate. What price patriotism! The traffic in arms is truly a death racket.

The nations of the world, in 1930, spent approximately \$4,500,000,000 on their military establishments. It is estimated that 15 per cent of army budgets and 40 to 50 per cent of naval and air budgets are spent on arms, fighting materials and munitions. The public pays the bill for national defense, and of the money thus expended the private armament manufacturers reap a handsome profit. This fact may throw some light upon the reasons underlying the patriotic concern for the defense of their country frequently expressed by those who are directly or indirectly connected with the making and selling of arms. This fact may also explain, in part, the reasons why certain sections of the public press are always calling for bigger and better armies, navies and air forces. The

French armament industry is closely linked with the Comité des Forges, a powerful industrial organization. The president of this industrial is M. François Wendel. This French patriot is a member of the French Chamber of Deputies and is said to hold a controlling interest in two influential nationalist newspapers in Paris — *Le Journal des Débats* and *Le Temps*.

The Bethlehem Steel Corporation is one of the largest manufacturers of armaments in the United States. For armor plate alone the United States, between 1887 and 1915, turned over \$42,000,000 to the Bethlehem Company. In 1916 the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation built 85 destroyers for the United States at a cost of \$134,000,000. Orders for foreign governments were being filled at the same time that ships were under construction for the American navy. It is interesting to note that the patriotic concern of the armament manufacturer for his own country does not preclude his building ships of war for other countries. In 1908 Bethlehem built five submarines for Japan; during the war it built twenty submarines for Great Britain. In the event of a naval war, Bethlehem Steel will be pitted against Bethlehem Steel!

The Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, a subsidiary of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, shared in the expenses of sending Mr. Shearer to the 1927 Geneva Naval Conference. We have already referred to Mr. Shearer's activities at Geneva. Following the failure of the conference the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation received contracts for three 10,000-ton cruisers for the American navy at a cost of approximately \$33,000,000.

The E. I. Du Pont de Nemours & Company is one of the largest producers of gunpowder and explosives in the United States. Its ramifications reach far and wide. It has many subsidiaries in our own country in addition to

owning large explosive plants in Mexico and Chile. Between 1905 and 1915 the Du Pont Company sold \$25,000,000 worth of smokeless powder to the United States. In 1914, the Du Ponts produced 2,265,000 pounds of powder, in 1915 (during the early days of the World War), 105,000,000 pounds. In 1916, with deaths mounting into the millions, the Du Ponts turned out 287,000,000 pounds of powder. After the United States entered the war the powder business of this one concern alone jumped to 387,000,000 pounds in 1917 and to 399,000,000 pounds in 1918. The slaughter of fathers, sons and brothers upon the Western front was a profitable business for the powder manufacturers!

Other manufacturers of armament in the United States include the Remington Arms Company, Colt's Patent Firearms Company, Winchester Repeating Arms Company, Western Cartridge Company, Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, New York Shipbuilding Company, Curtiss-Wright Corporation, Stinson Aircraft Corporation and the United Aircraft and Transport Corporation.¹²

What steps have been taken in the effort to place this death racket under the ban of international law? The China Arms Embargo, 1919-29, instituted by Allied Powers to keep western weapons out of the hands of Chinese war lords, did not work. The Convention of St. Germain, based on the principle that no state should allow export of arms except to the recognized government of another state, was negotiated in 1919. It was signed by twenty-three states but it never came into force due to the refusal of the principal arms-producing states, including the United States, to ratify the convention.

The League Arms Traffic Convention, drawn up in 1925, sought to define the legal purchasing of arms and to

secure publicity for the trade. This convention, if universally adopted and practiced, would prevent arms being sold to anyone but governments. This convention has not yet come into force. The United States has ratified the treaty but has stated that it would not consider itself bound by its terms until ratification had been deposited by the principal arms-producing nations. Several attempts have been made at the World Disarmament Conference to bring the traffic in arms and munitions under some form of international control. In the spring of 1934, a special committee was appointed by the conference to prepare a draft treaty providing for international regulation of the traffic. This committee has reported. It recommends that every gun and every piece of war material be registered internationally. According to press dispatches the plan provides that the adhering nations undertake to prohibit the manufacture of forbidden arms and traffic in them in excess of limits mutually agreed to by the contracting powers. Licenses would also be required for all manufactures and exports of arms.

Due in part to the insistent demand of the general public that a way be found to stop the shipment of arms to nations resorting to war in violation of peace pledges, there was introduced in Congress, in the closing period of President Hoover's administration, a bill which would confer authority upon the President 'to limit or forbid shipment of arms for military purposes in cases where special undertakings of coöperation can be secured with the principal arms manufacturing nations.' The bill was defeated.

President Roosevelt, shortly after his inauguration, attempted to secure legislation along the lines asked for by his predecessor. The proposed bill (H. J. Resolution No. 93) embodied the request of President Roosevelt that he be given power by the Congress to declare, in coöperation

with other nations, an embargo on shipments of arms and munitions of war to such country or countries as seem to contemplate the use of force in the settlement of any given international dispute.

The adoption of this legislation was long delayed. Meanwhile the military racketeers were selling their wares to nations that at that very moment were involved in an undeclared war. Finally, during the closing days of the Seventy-third Congress, due in part to the President's insistence and in part to the continued slaughter in the Chaco, an arms embargo bill was passed on May 28, 1934, and signed by the President. Among its provisions are the following: 'That, if the President finds that the prohibition of the sale of arms and munitions of war in the United States to those countries now engaged in armed conflict in the Chaco may contribute to the reëstablishment of peace between those countries; and if, after consultation with the governments of other American republics and with their coöperation, as well as that of such other governments as he may deem necessary, he makes proclamation to that effect, it shall be unlawful to sell, except under such limitations and exceptions as the President prescribes, any arms or munitions of war in any place in the United States to the countries now engaged in that armed conflict, or to any person, company or association acting in the interest of either country, until otherwise ordered by the President or Congress.' Under the authority invested in him by this legislation, the President immediately prohibited the sale of munitions and war materials in this country to Bolivia and Paraguay.

During the hearings on the arms embargo bill in the Seventy-second Congress, the principal persons who appeared in opposition to the proposed legislation were representatives of armament firms. The following brief ex-

cerpts from the testimony of these men is interesting to say the least. Guy Vaughan, director Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce: 'We have shipped 80 per cent of our total shipments for war purposes.'¹³ Charles F. Barndt, Great Lakes Aircraft Corporation (answering the question as to how this resolution would affect him): 'It would simply add that much more weight or obstacle to our opportunity of disposing of our products.'¹⁴ Thomas A. Morgan, president Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce of America: 'Naturally the industry is jealous of its export trade and wishes to maintain and increase it.'¹⁵ Mr. Morgan testified that 70 or 75 per cent of aircraft production for export by the companies represented in Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce of America is classified as war equipment.¹⁶ Answering the question as to whether the pending resolution would hurt his business, Mr. Morgan replied: 'Yes, sir, . . . It would be another source of irritation for those countries that would find it difficult to do business with us.'¹⁷ H. F. Beebe, Winchester Repeating Arms Company: 'Leaving aside our own interest in this matter, which, after all, is only to be given an even chance with the manufacturers of other countries, we cannot see how the result of refusing to supply to warring nations . . . could result other than to the advantage of the best equipped, whether that country was the aggressor or not.'¹⁸ Samuel M. Stone, president Colt's Patent Fire Arms Manufacturing Company: 'There is in this country now just one company that manufactures machine guns, and that happens to be the Colt Company. . . . The mere announcement of the possibility of such a right being vested in the President of the United States immediately raises the question on the part of the prospective customers in foreign countries . . . as to the wisdom of incurring the risk of placing their needs with American

manufacturers.'¹⁹ F. J. Monahan, Remington Arms Company (in answer to the question, 'In order to keep in tune, to keep in practice, you have got to have trouble going on in some part of the world?'): 'Yes, sir.'²⁰

These representatives of armament firms evinced but little concern in the restoration and maintenance of peace throughout the world. The logic of their position was that if there were going to be any blood money they might just as well have their share of it. They manifested great interest in the strictly business aspects of their respective enterprises but they had little if anything to say about such humanitarian matters as the strengthening of the world's peace machinery and the saving of human lives. What if there were a war in Japan that threatened once more to jeopardize the happiness and well-being of countless millions of people? Were they not in a position to profit by this military madness? What if there were a war in South America which had already taken a tremendous toll of life and that had all but bankrupted the participating nations? Were they not making money, and would they not make more money the longer the military conflicts continued? The representative of the Remington Arms Company even went so far as to say that wars and revolutions 'in some part of the world' were desirable in order that his arms producing company might be kept 'in tune.'

It is now clear that a sense of moral revulsion is manifesting itself among Christian thinking people against the private manufacture and sale of the implements of human destruction. Many Christian thinking people will agree with Senator Borah who in a masterful speech before the Senate said:²¹ 'Mr. President, the thought of making profits out of war, of building fortunes out of the misery and the sorrows of the maimed, the broken in health, and the insane is revolting enough to anyone who has left

in him a spark of human sympathy or a sense of decency. But to foment discord and to spread false and sordid statements, to engender bitterness and suspicion and hate and fear among nations, all that such profits may be made and enlarged reaches the dead level of human depravity. There is nothing lower in the scale of human avarice.' What then are the churches saying?

During the period when the Shearer episode was being given a public airing, the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, at its 1929 Goodwill Congress, adopted the following statement: 'The recent Shearer investigation by the United States Senate has made it abundantly evident that a part of that influence in our country which fosters international ill will and suspicion proceeds from selfish and sinister interests. A new light, also, has been thrown upon the animus which has provoked many of the malicious and misleading attacks made upon those organizations in the country which are seeking to promote the spirit of good will and are upholding President Hoover's policies of international co-operation. We are confident that this will strengthen the determination of our people to discount jingoism and to listen anew to the voices of faith and hope and moral purpose in the shaping of our world.'

The Federal Council of Churches has taken issue with those who would persist in the international buying and selling of arms and munitions. The council says: 'We believe, in the language of the League Covenant, that "the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections." It is obvious that the world cannot be effectively organized for peace until this private traffic in arms, credits and sinews of war has been brought under strict control. Sound public policy requires peace-loving nations to for-

bid their nationals to engage in international traffic in military implements. We believe that the disarmament treaty to be negotiated in Geneva should provide for the rigid control of this traffic and that the United States should find a constitutional way to participate in such control.' ²² Unanimous approval was given to this declaration by the prominent churchmen of the twenty-five denominations represented in the council's quadrennial gathering. Subsequently, the executive committee of the Federal Council declared its conviction: '(1) That the President should be authorized to place an embargo on arms, munitions and credits to nations that send their military forces across the boundary line of other nations, or propose to do so; (2) That the arms and munitions industry should be placed under government control and that the United States should join with other nations in exercising strict control of the international traffic in arms and munitions.' ²³ The declaration of the Federal Council has been endorsed, in principle, by many church bodies, and in specific language by the 1934 General Conference of the Colored Methodist Episcopal church and the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian church.

The World Peace Commission of the Methodist Episcopal church describes as 'social insanity' the practice of manufacturing and selling arms and munitions for private profit. 'We hold,' say the members of this commission, 'that it is nothing less than social insanity for any people to leave the manufacture of munitions to private individuals whose only hope of financial gain depends upon their sale—that is, upon war and war scares.' ²⁴ Whereas the Federal Council urges that the traffic in arms should be brought under 'strict control,' the Methodists believe that 'the manufacture and sale of war munitions should be placed under government ownership and control.' A

year later, subsequent to the nation-wide agitation in support of a munitions embargo and an investigation of the munitions industry, the World Peace Commission of the Methodist Episcopal church said: 'We endorse the proposed Congressional investigation of the arms and munitions industry. We are convinced that the President should be authorized to place an embargo on arms, munitions and credits to war-making nations.'²⁵

The American Section of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches demands nationalization of the munitions business. This organization believes 'that the manufacture, sale, and transportation of arms and munitions should be taken out of the hands of private individuals or corporations and carried on only by government agencies under international control.'²⁶ On the governing body of the American Section of the World Alliance will be found churchmen of the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish faiths. Describing the trade in arms as a 'bloody traffic,' the Disciples of Christ in the interest of peace 'strongly urge federal control of the manufacture of all arms and munitions and the complete elimination of private profits from this bloody traffic.'²⁷

The representatives of various national Christian women's organizations concurred in the following resolution adopted by the 1934 Conference on the Cause and Cure of War: 'We earnestly request the President and Congress to appeal to the League of Nations to continue the investigation of the manufacture and sales of all varieties of armaments and to recommend and publish to all nations methods for their effective control. We urge our own Congress to conduct such investigation in our own country and to find the means of preventing sales and exports directly or indirectly to nations at war or threatening war.'

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. believes 'that private manufacture of munitions of war ought to be prohibited in order that the temptation to the manufacturers of both munitions and war may be removed from private parties and that there ought to be no exportation of the munitions of war contrary to the spirit of the Paris pact.'²⁸ Twelve months later the Presbyterians were considerably more aroused over this issue. The action taken in 1934 reads as follows: 'We call the attention of the church to the sinister part played by the manufacturers and distributors of munitions of war, in arousing mutual fear and suspicion on the part of nations, and of overt acts promoting military rivalry. The munitions industry in general knows no patriotism, but promotes the sale of its wares to the citizens and governments of all nations, so that we continually hear of the slaughter of nationals by means of arms made in their own country, and by which their fellow-citizens have profited. We therefore urge our pastors and leaders to inform their people of these facts, and urge them to bring all lawful pressure to bear upon our government to place an embargo upon the sale of munitions of war. We further advocate the abolition of the private manufacture and sale of munitions of war.' Then, as if to put teeth in its resolution the Presbyterians said: 'We counsel the boards to scrutinize their investments and consider the advisability of withdrawing their investments if any from such businesses as derive their profits from munitions industries.'

The Methodists of the South in passing their moral judgment upon the selfish munitions interests said: 'We express our condemnation of those selfish business interests and corporations which endeavor to stir up strife among races and hatred among nations that they may profit by the sale of arms and munitions and other instruments of

war; and exploit the common people by doubling, and in many instances quadrupling, the price of the actual necessities of life in the form of food and clothing.' ²⁹

The Baptists are not to be outdone by the Presbyterians in their purpose to keep out of their church coffers moneys received from investments in the munitions business. The Northern Baptist Convention had the following to say on this point: 'We believe that this repentance (of war) should lead the boards of our national societies to scrutinize their investments lest unwittingly we derive a portion of our income from industries engaged in the production of the materials of war.' ³⁰ This same Convention said: 'We believe that we must use every effort to induce the Congress of the United States to pass immediately the proposed embargo act on arms and munitions. It is also our conviction that the munitions investigation should be thorough and complete to the end that private profit should be taken away from the manufacture of the munitions of war.'

The likelihood is that many other church assemblies will presently take action calling either for the nationalization of the arms industry or for the placing of the traffic in arms and munitions under strict international control. Preachers are becoming increasingly indignant over the brazen effrontery of arms manufacturers who are willing, apparently, to junk the world's peace machinery, if only they are able to add to their profits. A strong editorial criticism of the private manufacture and sale of arms and munitions is beginning to appear in the religious and daily press.

The Editorial Council of the Religious Press, representing a large section of the church press of the Protestant and non-Roman Catholic religious bodies in the United States, in a recent communication to the President-Gen-

eral of the Daughters of the American Revolution, urged that the latter organization protest against the action of armament manufacturers who added to their profits 'by the fomenting of wars and rumors of war.' The Daughters had been lecturing the public about the dangers inherent in the ranting of communist agitators. The ladies of this influential sisterhood had been telling the American public that the preservation of the nation would be imperiled unless immediate steps were taken to strengthen the army and navy. Shortly afterward a considerable number of the editors of the religious press met in Washington, D. C., and in a letter addressed to the Daughters of the American Revolution, they said: 'We should like to see your concern for an adequate national defense matched or overshadowed by a demand for limitation and drastic reduction of world armaments by international agreement. We should rejoice if your plea for the suppression of communist agitators in this country were paralleled by a protest against the private ownership of the munitions industry, thus enabling individuals to profit by the fomenting of wars and rumors of war.'⁸¹ No reply of the D. A. R. to this communication has ever been made public. What reply can be made? What, if any, defense can be made of a traffic that enables armament manufacturers to reap a handsome profit out of 'the fomenting of wars and rumors of wars'?

The *Living Church*, following the lead taken by the Editorial Council of the Religious Press, has this to say regarding the armament industry: 'The machinations and ramifications of this bloody traffic are shocking and almost beyond belief. . . .'⁸²

Believing that the uncontrolled traffic in arms and munitions might conceivably offset the values gained for peace through the ratification of the Kellogg pact, the Federal

Council of Churches, in a message to the churches, said: 'As a method for giving the pact added influence among the nations, proposals are now before our people for placing an embargo on the exportation of arms to nations that violate their solemn pledges in signing the pact. . . . Our nation should not view with indifference the violation of solemn pledges by treaty-breaking nations, nor should it become their accomplice in the crime of war. We believe that the hands of our government in dealing with an impending war situation would be greatly strengthened by the enactment of a law authorizing the President upon the approval of Congress to forbid the export, to a nation that violates the peace pact, of capital, arms, munitions and raw materials needed for their manufacture.' ³³

The efforts of President Roosevelt in the spring of 1933 to secure legislation granting him power to place an embargo on the shipment of arms to nations violating their peace pledges received the warm support of the executive officers of the Federal Council of Churches and of other church bodies. Churchmen of the various communions were among those signing a petition urging the adoption of this legislation.

Standing upon the armament resolutions previously adopted by the Federal Council of Churches, the officers of this interchurch organization sent a letter to President Roosevelt strongly urging the adoption of the arms embargo bill. The opinion was expressed 'that the adoption of this legislation would meet with the approval of the vast majority of the Christian thinking people of the nation.' The Federal Council's communication ³⁴ went on to say: 'We believe that authority should be conferred upon you, as President, to prohibit, in collaboration with other nations, the export of arms and munitions to nations that resort to military hostilities in violation of their peace

pledges. It seems clear to us that nations that protest the violation of international agreements are logically bound to prevent their respective nationals from supplying the military instruments with which these agreements are broken. We confidently expect that the time will come when the traffic in arms will fall under the moral condemnation of public opinion the world over.'

The Council of Women for Home Missions and the Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions were represented in the 1933 National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War when a resolution was adopted urging legislation 'to prohibit the exportation of arms and munitions to nations at war, when in his (the President's) opinion a sufficient number of other exporting nations are willing to coöperate in such action.' Two Jewish bodies, the National Council of Jewish Women and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, have taken action supporting an arms embargo. So, too, has the Boston Federation of Churches.

The great majority of our church people will agree with former Secretary of State Stimson that 'it is becoming more and more evident that the international traffic in arms must be supervised and controlled by national and international action. . . . The United States should never, in justice to its own convictions and its own dignity, be placed in such a position that it could not join in preventing the supply of arms or munitions for the furtherance of an international conflict while exercising its own influence and prestige to prevent or bring to an end such a conflict. . . .'⁸⁵

The churches are becoming increasingly convinced that the arms and munitions industry, with its enormous financial interest in the fomenting and making of war, is one of the greatest menaces to the peace of the world today.

The churches are practically unanimous in their demand for a drastic reduction of the world's armaments. It is now seen that there can be no such thing as real and lasting disarmament so long as the makers and sellers of armor plate, military aircraft, guns, bayonets and gunpowder are permitted to play upon the fears of the people in our own and other countries. This, according to the judgment of the League of Nations, is exactly what the armament manufacturers are doing. Church members assemble in their places of worship to pray for peace and while they are invoking the aid of God in their peace efforts the traffickers in arms and munitions, through the press, political bribery, and devious other ways, are developing war scares which have the effect of setting nation against nation. Little wonder, then, that the Methodist World Peace Commission should characterize the practice of manufacturing and selling arms and munitions for private profit as 'social insanity.'

NOTES ON CHAPTER IV

¹ *Secret International*, p. 5, Union of Democratic Control, London.

² June 15, 1934.

³ May 28, 1934.

⁴ April 12, 1934.

⁵ May 18, 1934.

⁶ *The Christian Century*, November 29, 1933.

⁷ *Patriotism, Ltd.*, p. 25, Union of Democratic Control, London.

⁸ *The Living Church*, November 11, 1933.

⁹ *The Christian Century*, November 29, 1933.

¹⁰ *The New York Times*, May 24, 1934.

¹¹ Engelbrecht, H. C., and Hanighen, F. C., *Merchants of Death*, pp. 178-9, Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

¹² For a complete list of armament manufacturers in the United States, see *International Traffic in Arms and Munitions*, p. 140, Foreign Policy Association, New York.

¹³ Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, Seventy-second Congress, on H. J. Resolution 580, p. 32.

- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 64.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69.
- ²¹ March 5, 1934.
- ²² Federal Council of Churches, Quadrennial Meeting, 1932.
- ²³ Federal Council of Churches, executive committee, April, 1934.
- ²⁴ World Peace Commission, Methodist Episcopal church, 1933.
- ²⁵ World Peace Commission, Methodist Episcopal church, May, 1934.
- ²⁶ International Goodwill Congress, 1933.
- ²⁷ Disciples of Christ, International Convention, 1933.
- ²⁸ Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., General Assembly, 1933.
- ²⁹ Methodist Episcopal church, South, General Conference, 1934.
- ³⁰ Northern Baptist Convention, 1934.
- ³¹ Editorial Council of the Religious Press, 1933.
- ³² *The Living Church*, November 11, 1933.
- ³³ Federal Council of Churches, executive committee, 1929.
- ³⁴ May 23, 1933.
- ³⁵ *The New York Times*, January 11, 1933.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCHES CHAMPION THE RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE

While many preachers were presenting arms at the time of the World War, a considerable number of conscientious objectors were being tortured in prisons and federal penitentiaries. Mistreatment of these war dissenters was common. Norman Thomas, in 1923, published his findings of the persecution visited upon conscientious objectors in the United States during the period covered by the participation of this country in the war. The story makes sad reading. From the daily record of the persecutions to which certain objectors were subjected the following paragraphs are taken:

‘Saturday, Sept. 7th.

‘We were ordered to fold our arms and stand at “attention,” by the “officer of the day,” Capt. Buckley. Failing to comply with this order he proceeded to abuse and insult us, referring to those of Jewish birth as “damn kikes,” etc. He then had our beds and blankets taken from us, and ordered that we be given raw rations — pork and beans — which we were to cook in the latrine, if we wanted to eat. He suggested to the prisoners that they beat us up. We had no supper and slept on the bare floor in our clothes.

‘Sunday, Oct. 6th.

‘In the afternoon, Sandin collapsed while taking his second cold shower of the day. We explained to the

doctor, who called, the nature of the treatment we had been receiving lately. We also informed him that we were being underfed.

'The Captain, who was "officer of the day," ordered that we be deprived of supper because we did not stand at "attention" at roll-call.

'At midnight we were suddenly and unexpectedly aroused by the sergeant of the guard and ordered to take a cold shower. It was obvious that this was an unreasonable and vicious imposition, and most of us refused to get up. We were then violently dragged into the shower room and held underneath the spray, night clothes and all, until thoroughly exhausted. Kaplan, Breger, Block, Powell, Franklin, Eichel, Downey, Steiner and Da Rosa were so treated. The "officer of the day" was present and directed the proceedings.

'Monday, Oct. 7th.

'Another cold shower was administered to us in the afternoon. At 8 P.M. the "officer of the day," a captain, and the sergeant of the guard ordered all to undress in the squadron and prepare for a cold shower, the third that day. We were marched to the latrine in a body. The Captain himself brought forth scrub brushes, used ordinarily for cleaning toilet seats, and brooms used for sweeping, and ordered that we scrub each other with them. Franklin refused to use the filthy brush. He was seized and roughly thrown to the cement floor, dragged back and forth and viciously belabored until thoroughly exhausted. He was then placed under the cold spray and left there until he collapsed. Eichel and Shotkin helped him back to his bed. When he recovered he became hysterical.'¹

A more recent book, 'Character, Bad,'² tells the moving story of a fine Christian lad who for reasons of conscience objected to military service during the World War. He was jailed by the government, and this young man's act of heroic devotion to peace was lost sight of by the preachers who were frantically calling for the blood of their brethren across the sea. American preachers generally were so preoccupied with the task of winning the war that little consideration was manifested by the clergy in the fate of their fellow-Americans who persisted in their refusal to fight or to help win the war. As a matter of fact, a considerable number of prominent churchmen openly denounced the conscientious objector as a hindrance to the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth.

If the pronouncements of certain official religious bodies are to be taken at all seriously there will be no lack of moral support for the conscientious objector in the event of another war. The issue is being drawn. Many churches are saying that the conscientious objector is entitled to and should receive the blessings of the pulpit and the pew.

To appreciate the significance of the position of the churches with respect to the rights of conscience it will be necessary to review, briefly, the post-war threat of the state to enslave the conscience of those who place loyalty to Christ above loyalty to Cæsar.

Many of the militarists brook no objection. Even God and the things of religion are thrown into the discard. To professional militarists religion must always yield to patriotism as patriotism is interpreted by the military. If a man's religion makes him unwilling to bear arms and to engage in the act of killing innocent men, women and children, he must give up his religion or remain a man without a country. In ancient Rome, if a man were to

profess allegiance to God as over against Cæsar he was thrown to the lions. In modern America, if an alien professes a prior allegiance to God he is denied the benefits of citizenship. Conscientious objectors among American-born young people are frequently denied the right of pursuing their education at state universities. Religion is all right, to the thinking of many militarists, until it makes a man unfit for killing. When it does this, religion is tabooed and conscience is placed upon the 'blacklist' by the professional patrioteers.

The moral conscience of Christendom was shocked with the news recently coming from Germany to the effect that the Nazis were planning to disfranchise the women because they are not capable of bearing arms. The women, apparently, are to be permitted to bear the children who in turn will bear the arms! We in America would do well, however, to pause before we condemn the Germans. Women aliens, who are conscientious objectors, are not infrequently denied the right of becoming American citizens. The case of Martha Jane Graber, who was denied citizenship in one of our lower courts, is a case in point. Miss Graber, a nurse, born in Alsace Lorraine, applied for citizenship. The court subjected the applicant to the following interrogation (Miss Graber had been asked as to her willingness to serve the country in time of war. The applicant answered that she would do this in keeping with the spirit of her profession):

'Question. What do you mean by willing to serve in your profession?

'Answer. I am a registered nurse.

'Question. What do you understand, Miss Graber, to be meant by taking an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States?

'Answer. Free speech and free press and free religion and I understand that if I become a citizen I will support the Constitution.

'Question. That does not answer my question.

'Answer. Beg your pardon. What was the question again?

'Question. My question was: What do you understand to be meant by taking an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States?

'Answer. Defend the Constitution the best I can in my profession. It seems to me it would mean to defend the Constitution in the way in which it would seem that you could do it the best that would mean most to your country.

'Question. Suppose your country saw fit to demand your service in the army in time of war as a combatant, to take part in the war; explain what you would do under such circumstances.

'Answer. I would go to the front in my profession.

'Question. That doesn't answer my question. My question was: Suppose you were called upon to act as a combatant in time of war for the United States, would you fight?

'Answer. That would not be professional as a nurse.

'Question. That doesn't answer the question: Are you willing to fight for the United States if need be? You understand what is meant by fighting, Miss Graber; I mean to take up arms in defense of the United States if necessary.

'Answer. I cannot kill, but I would be willing to give my life.

'Question. Do I understand that you mean that you are unwilling to fight for the United States?

'Answer. Do you mean by "fighting" killing?

'Question. I do if necessary. Such is war, Miss Graber.

'Answer. Do you want an answer or what?

'Question. The question is as to whether or not in time of war, if need be, you are willing to shed blood in defense of the United States?

'Answer. I said I would be willing to shed my own blood to protect this government.

'Question. I am not asking you as to your willingness to shed your own blood. I am asking you as to your willingness to shed the blood of others if need be.

'Answer. I conscientiously could not do that.'³

Here was a woman, refined, intelligent and patriotic. She was willing to serve the United States in time of war. She was willing, if need be, to go to the front. She was willing, as she said, to give her life for the country whose citizenship she desired. She was willing, according to the testimony, 'to shed my own blood to protect this government.' But the court in which the foregoing testimony was offered declared that she was ineligible for citizenship. Why? Because she was unable to promise, in the event of war, 'to take up arms,' that is, to carry a gun and a bayonet. A woman who was willing to shed her blood to care for the wounded under fire is denied citizenship because she cannot bring herself to say that she would bear arms. Was there ever a more pagan demonstration of military hysteria than this? Even Cæsar in the heyday of his military glory never made such a fool of himself. The woman in question would not have been called upon to bear arms in any event. At the most she would have been expected to care for the wounded and the dying. But no, she was contemptuously bullied into an impossible position by a bigoted interrogator. What a pretty pass we

have come to as a nation when women, in order to become citizens, have got to promise that in time of war they will smear their hands with blood!

Major General Amos A. Fries, in testifying before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, with respect to the bill to grant to conscientious objectors the rights of citizenship, declared that 'a person who is not willing to bear arms, man or woman, should not be a citizen. . . .' ⁴ It was not made plain by the general whether or not he would exempt from military service a mother who was carrying a baby at her breast. The general, apparently, doesn't think much of the patriotism of a woman who is unwilling to leave her babes and reach for a Gatling gun.

At this same hearing Congressman Robert A. Green, of Florida, became so wrought up over what he believed to be the evil intent of the supporters of the bill that he cried out in true military style, 'I am willing to hear members of Congress on anything, because they represent constituents, but as for continuing this hearing indefinitely and hearing further witnesses on a bill which has as its root and its feet, and which will eventually work to encourage sovietism, socialism and communistic tendencies, government-debauching, law-destroying, un-Americanism, giving vent to cowardice and the tearing down of all things that mean American freedom and liberty, I am not willing to sit here any further, and when the members of Congress and the senators have been heard, if they desire to speak, I desire to move that the hearing on this close *sine die* as far as this committee is concerned.' ⁵ Precious little Mr. Green knows about 'American freedom and liberty.' Precious little the professional military in general knows about these things. The Pilgrims journeyed to America primarily for the purpose of finding a place where they

could worship God as they pleased. Abraham Lincoln, obedient to conscience, was opposed to and fought against the Mexican war. But our vigilant patrioteers have no room for those whose conscience unfits them for participation in the war business.

Many aliens, otherwise qualified, have had the door of citizenship slammed in their faces. There was the case of Herman Enns, an adherent of the Mennonite faith. Mr. Enns applied for citizenship late in 1927. During the course of the interrogation to which he was subjected he replied, 'Yes,' in answer to the question as to whether he would be willing to take the oath of loyalty to the Constitution and the laws of the United States. When the question was put to him, 'Would you kill human beings?' he replied, 'No,' and he was forthwith rejected.⁶

The Rev. T. S. King, a native of England and a Methodist minister at Lake Arthur, Louisiana, applied for citizenship in November 1929. The following are among the questions raised by the presiding judge and the applicant's answers:

'The Judge. Suppose the United States engaged in a war that you considered to be wrong; what would be your attitude?

'Answer. I would consider it my duty to protect and defend democracy.

'The Judge. But, supposing you take a concrete case. If California wanted more territory and decided to seize some in Mexico and everyone was drafted for some form of service, would you object or be loyal?

'Answer. I do not believe the United States would engage in such a war.

'The Judge. I do not want any convictions, sir. Under such circumstances, a war of aggression, would you object?

' Answer. In all probability, I would. I would first have to consider my duty to God and to humanity.

' The Judge. In other words, you can't subscribe under any and every condition to the doctrine, "My country, right or wrong, my country" ?

' Answer. No.

' The Judge. Then you cannot be admitted. What we want are citizens who are prepared to say, "My country, right or wrong, my country." ' "

The Rev. Mr. King was rejected. And this despite the fact that the Selective Act of May 18, 1917, contained the following provision: ' . . . and nothing in this act contained shall be construed to require or compel any person to serve in any of the forces herein provided for who is found to be a member of any well-organized religious sect or organization at present organized and existing and whose existing creed or principles forbid its members to participate in war in any form and whose religious convictions are against war or participation therein in accordance with the creed or principles of said religious organizations. . . . ' Conscientious objectors among aliens are being denied citizenship in times of peace despite the fact that in certain instances conscientious objectors among citizens were excused from military service in times of war!

The case of Professor Douglas C. Macintosh of Yale University attracted wide attention, particularly among churchmen and religious leaders. Professor Macintosh, a native of Canada, joined the faculty of Yale University in 1909. Sixteen years later he sought to be naturalized and be made a citizen of the United States. He had been ordained a Baptist minister in 1907. His record, from every standpoint, had been an enviable one. He was a man of uprightness, of sound moral and mental character.

While standing before the bar of the naturalization court, he was asked regarding his willingness to bear arms in the event of war. He replied: 'I am willing to do what I judge to be in the best interest of my country, but only in so far as I can believe that this is not going to be against the best interests of humanity in the long run. I do not undertake to support "my country, right or wrong" in any dispute which may arise, and I am not willing to promise beforehand, and without knowing the cause for which my country may go to war, either that I will or that I will not "take up arms in defense of this country," however "necessary" the war may seem to be to the government of the day.' In other words Professor Macintosh was not willing to render unto Cæsar the things that belonged to God. He did not say that he would not bear arms in the event of war. All that he asked was that he be permitted to reserve judgment regarding the merits of any given war in which the United States might become involved. This was not enough. He was denied citizenship. The country, apparently, had no use for men of his type. He was a scholar, a Christian gentleman, but he would not promise, in advance, to butcher his fellows in a war that might conceivably be regarded by all fair-minded citizens as unwarranted and in violation of treaty obligations.

The decision of the United States District Court in New Haven to refuse citizenship to Professor Macintosh was appealed. The New York Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the decision of the lower court. The District Court had laid down its theory of the rights of conscience in these words: 'It appearing that the said petitioner, considering his allegiance to be first to the law of God, would not promise in advance to bear arms in defense of the United States under all circumstances, but only if he be-

lieved the war to be morally justified, it is directed that the petitioner is not attached to the principles of the United States.' The Circuit Court of Appeals reversed this decision. Mr. John W. Davis, counsel for Professor Macintosh, maintained that his client, in making allegiance to God primary, was doing only what every intelligent Christian man or woman must do, in considering the question of military service. 'Actually,' said Mr. Davis, 'Dr. Macintosh was in accord with the principles of Christ; to deny him citizenship would mean that every sincere Christian was "not attached to the principles of the United States."' "

The government appealed the decision of the Circuit Court and the case finally reached the United States Supreme Court. By a five-to-four vote, the court decreed that Professor Macintosh be denied the rights of citizenship. The following quotation is taken from the minority opinion which was handed down by Chief Justice Hughes: 'The essence of religion is belief in a relation to God involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation. . . . One can not speak of religious liberty, with proper appreciation of its essential and historic significance, without assuming the existence of a belief in supreme allegiance to the will of God.'⁸ Chief Justice Hughes further observed that Congress had never exacted the 'promise to bear arms as a condition of its grant of naturalization.' But the doors had been barred and a man who had refused to deliver his conscience into the hands of the state was told that he wasn't wanted.

Miss Marie Bland, a member of Grace Episcopal Church of New York City, whose case closely parallels that of Dr. Macintosh, is still without citizenship rights due to her conscientious refusal to promise that she would bear arms in the event of war. The brief filed with the

United States Supreme Court in the Bland case was signed by the following: The Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons, Bishop of California; The Rt. Rev. Wilson R. Stearly, Bishop of Newark; The Rt. Rev. Benjamin Brewster, Bishop of Maine; Mr. George Foster Peabody, Saratoga Springs, New York; Rev. W. Russell Bowie, Rector of Grace Church, New York City; Rev. Robert Norwood, Rector of St. Bartholomew's Church, New York City; Rev. Karl Reiland, Rector of St. George's Church, New York City; Rev. John Howard Melish, Rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, New York; Rev. G. Mercer Williams, Rector of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, New York City; Rev. Joseph H. Titus, Rector of Grace Church, Jamaica, Long Island, New York; Rev. John Nevin Sayre, executive secretary, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York City; Rev. C. Lawson Willard, Rector of St. James' Church, Elmhurst, Long Island, New York; Rev. Frank H. Nelson, Rector of Christ Church, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Miss Bland's attorney, in referring to the brief's signatures, said: 'The individuals whom counsel represents are outstanding leaders of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America and are attached to the principles of the Constitution and loyal to the United States. Their religious views and their consciences impel them to sympathy with the petitioner whose rights are here drawn in question, who is of their faith, and with others whose rights may be seriously affected.'⁹

Then there is the case of Rev. Thomas Frederick Rutledge Beale. The applicant for naturalization in this instance is pastor of People's Church, St. Paul, Minnesota. He was denied citizenship in the United States District Court when he refused to make an unconditional promise that he would bear arms in any and all wars. Mr. Beale premised his case upon the moral implications flowing out

of the Kellogg peace pact. He contended that the pact had outlawed war and that he would bear arms only under conditions permitted by the pact. In other words Mr. Beale was standing squarely upon the Constitution of the country whose citizenship he sought. His application for citizenship was denied. He appealed the decision but the judgment of the lower court has just recently been confirmed by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.¹⁰

The churches have been quick to realize that the refusal of citizenship to conscientious objectors constituted a fundamental contradiction to the principles of religious liberty. They saw, too, that if conscience were to be drafted by the state, the peace program of the churches would be seriously compromised. Accordingly, many church bodies extolled the primacy of conscience with respect to participation in war. They protested against the practice of requiring a pledge to bear arms of aliens seeking citizenship. The Federal Council of Churches said: 'In view of certain recent judicial decisions which raise fundamental questions as to the justice of our present naturalization laws, we desire to put on record the following convictions: We hold that our country is benefited by having as citizens those who unswervingly follow the dictates of their consciences, and who put allegiance to God above every other consideration, and that a policy of denial of naturalization to aliens of such character is contrary to the ideals of a nation into whose very structure the principle of political and religious liberty has been built. If the present naturalization law does, under fair interpretation, require the exclusion from citizenship of applicants who put allegiance to God above every other consideration, we believe the law should be amended.'¹¹

The Federal Council of Churches has frequently reaffirmed this position and in 1932, at its quadrennial meet-

ing, this interchurch body adopted a statement from which the following is taken: 'Since sixty-two nations have, in the Pact of Paris, renounced war and pledged themselves to seek only the methods of peace in the settlement of their controversies, applicants for citizenship should not be required to make pledges that conflict with the spirit and intent of this pact. We recommend such changes in the present laws of the land that citizenship shall not be conditioned upon the willingness to bear arms.'

The Northern Baptist Convention, prior to the final hearing of Dr. Macintosh's plea before the Supreme Court, adopted the following statement:

'We regard with grave concern the recent ruling of a District Federal Court which refused citizenship in the United States to Professor Douglas Macintosh, a Baptist minister and Professor of Theology in Yale Divinity School, on the ground that he considered "his allegiance to be first to the will of God" and therefore "would not promise in advance to bear arms in defense of the United States under all circumstances but only if he believed the war to be morally justified."

'We believe that such a policy is not only unjust to the individual but contrary to public welfare and in conflict with the ideals of a nation into whose very structure the principle of political and religious liberty has been built. More than anything else our country needs citizens who unswervingly follow the dictates of their conscience, making allegiance to God the supreme guide to life and conduct.

'We believe, moreover, that, at this time when the United States and fifty-seven other nations have renounced war and have pledged themselves to use only the methods of peace in the settlement of their controversies, it is quite unsuitable that our courts and our

laws should require applicants for citizenship to make pledges that conflict with the spirit and intent of the peace pact.

'We appeal to our fellow-citizens to help secure the needed amendment of our naturalization law and thus establish the principle that refusal to promise in advance to bear arms because of supreme allegiance to God shall not be a bar to citizenship in the United States.'¹²

Protesting against 'an unjustified invasion of conscience' the Disciples of Christ, in their International Convention, adopted a statement which reads in part: 'We reaffirm the well-founded principle of the sanctity of the individual conscience in the matter of participation in war, and declare the invasion of this right by government, either in the refusal of naturalization to foreign-born persons of good character seeking citizenship or in the coercion of native-born citizens, to be an unjustified invasion of conscience. We hold it to be the duty of all good citizens to support the state up to the point where obedience to man becomes disobedience to God, in the firm conviction that the state has bound itself by the terms of the Kellogg pact never to resort to war for the settlement of any dispute, whatever its origin or however it may arise.'¹³

The Presbyterians, mindful of the fact that the Westminster Confession affirms 'that God alone is Lord of the conscience,' adopted the following statement: 'Whereas, the General Assembly has repeatedly declared the aversion of the church to the settlement of international differences by war, or by the appeal to arms, and its belief in the substitution therefor of peaceful processes of conference and adjudication; and whereas, the Standards of the Church declare "that God alone is Lord of the con-

science," and whereas, the church has always taught that it is the duty of men to obey their conscience in the fear of God and in fidelity to his word; and whereas, men and women should stand on the same basis of principle, enjoying equal rights and having equal duties in the church and in the state: therefore, resolved, that the assembly declares its belief that the right and duty of citizenship should not be conditioned upon the test of ability or willingness, contrary to conscience, to bear arms or to take part as a combatant of war.' ¹⁴

The Christian church (now united with the Congregational church) asked for a reversal of the Supreme Court decision in the *Macintosh* and *Bland* cases and failing that, the enactment of a constitutional amendment guaranteeing the rights of conscience. The resolution follows: 'The recent majority decision of the United States Supreme Court, which denies citizenship to all applicants who cannot conscientiously declare a willingness to fight in defense of our country, does not express the spirit of true Americanism. Willingness to live, and even to die, for one's country may be a truer test of citizenship than willingness to kill others. We regret that men past military age, and women who apply for membership in our nation, should be required to declare a willingness to bear arms. Either this decision should be reversed or the Constitution should be amended.' ¹⁵

The Methodist Episcopal church, by formal action of its General Conference,¹⁶ expressed a desire 'to make our own' the position taken by the Federal Council of Churches on the general question of conscience and citizenship.

A group of American missionaries (Episcopal) in China, seeing their labor of years undermined and invalidated by the attempted nationalization of religion in the

United States, addressed the following communication to Bishop Perry of the Protestant Episcopal church:

'Never, in many years of residence in China as missionaries from Christian America, have we ever come on more unabashed heathenism than is expressed in that (Macintosh) decision. The Pope referred lately to certain manifestations of Italian Fascism as amounting to "pagan worship of the state." So long as this decision of the Supreme Court stands unreversed, so long has "pagan worship of the state" become the official American religion. . . .

'Can any man who really believes in God Almighty take this sort of thing lying down? Do we American Christians believe in the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ as the supreme object of our reverent homage, or in a twentieth century tutelary deity called Uncle Sam? And is it true that our highest obligation is to see that by fair means or foul ("under all circumstances") America shall be preserved, or to seek earnestly the realization of our daily prayer, "*Thy* Kingdom come; *Thy* will be done, on earth (the United States included) as it is in heaven?" Some of us Christians had gained the idea that our transcendent loyalty is to Christ, and our highest duty to conform our lives to his will, yet here is the stark and naked blasphemy, upheld by the highest tribunal in the United States, that the American's supreme obligation is not to the doing of God's will, but to the preservation of the American state.

'We are Americans, and love the land of our birth, though we have lived too long in other lands, and rubbed elbows with men and women of too many nations to suppose that America has any monopoly of the favor of God. But, *because* we love our country, we are

ashamed that, under the urge of the cult of nationalism, she should put herself on record as declaring a man unfit for American citizenship because he declares his allegiance to be first to the will of God. . . .

‘With national hatreds rampant in Europe, and this Macintosh decision being handed down in America, the foreign missionary begins to feel that opposing the gospel of the love of God more fiercely than Buddhism, Hinduism or Mohammedanism is this monstrous religion of nationalism, with its tyrannous demand for the conscription of our conscience, and its cardinal dogma ‘of the infallibility of the state.’¹⁷

This letter was signed by the Rt. Rev. Logan Herbert Roots, Bishop of Hankow, Rev. Edmund L. Souder and Rev. Robert E. Wood.

The Protestant Episcopal church supported this outspoken declaration of one of its missionary bishops and his co-workers. The General Convention of this communion, deploring the tendency of requiring aliens applying for citizenship ‘to choose between their country and their God,’ adopted a statement which reads: ‘Whereas, under the present laws of the United States an applicant for citizenship will be refused if he states that he would be unwilling to bear arms in a war to which he might conscientiously object, and whereas, the present laws of the United States relieve citizens who are conscientious objectors from the duty of bearing arms; resolved that this convention expresses its earnest hope that the naturalization laws and the oath of allegiance of the United States may be so modified that such conscientious objectors may be admitted to citizenship, provided they are willing to serve their country in the event of war by non-combatant service; and further resolved that we earnestly petition Congress to modify existing laws, particularly the Naturaliza-

tion Act of 1906, so as to avoid placing multitudes of loyal citizens in the unhappy position of being forced to choose between their country and their God.' ¹⁸

The Seventh Day Baptist church, having in mind the Macintosh and Bland cases, made the following declaration: ' (1) While a nation "has a duty to survive," yet its first duty is to "seek justice, love mercy, and walk humbly before God." (2) Our nation has by the Constitution and by legislative enactment even in times of war safeguarded religious liberty, thus recognizing that a citizen's first duty is to God. (3) The Kellogg-Briand treaty anticipates the formation of a body of conscience-led citizens in every nation who shall assure the peaceable settlement of international disputes. (4) Our nation must not put itself in the position of demanding that incoming citizens give up the right to be conscience-led when by the Constitution, by legislative enactment, and by the Kellogg-Briand treaty this very thing is safeguarded and encouraged for native-born citizens. (5) We express ourselves in agreement with the minority opinion written by Chief Justice Hughes (regarding the Macintosh case). (6) We hope that the petition for a rehearing of the case by the Supreme Court will be granted.' ¹⁹

The American Unitarian Association, after reviewing the circumstances that led up to the Supreme Court decision in the Macintosh and Bland cases, adopted the following resolution:

' Be it resolved that we Unitarians who are here assembled, while respecting the judicial procedure in this case and with no purpose to call in question the legality of the decision, nevertheless declare that we feel profoundly moved to protest against it; that the majority opinion looks backward upon precedents in the past, while the minority opinion looks forward with the grow-

ing sentiments of the American people against the war system, thus interpreting the Naturalization Oath in harmony with the moral conscience increasingly felt by American citizens as to whether they can or cannot approve and support a declaration of war:

‘Be it further resolved that we feel a deepening dismay at the decision of the Supreme Court to the effect, first: that liberty of conscience, even in the bearing of arms in any or all wars, has no guarantee whatsoever in the Constitution of the United States but only in the judgment of Congress, a decision which appears to subject all citizens, and especially all officeholders taking the oath of office in substantially the same terms of the Naturalization Oath, to the implied promise in advance to bear arms in any and all wars of the nation, no matter what religious scruples may be felt; and, second: that the decision puts a construction upon the Constitution contrary to our American practice in all its history, because it definitely assures to Congress the right of universal conscription of conscience without regard to religious scruples in the bearing of arms.

‘Be it further resolved that we who approve these resolutions, pledge ourselves to all possible efforts to move Congress to find some relief, if necessary, in a constitutional amendment, from the intolerable results of the Supreme Court decision, as it affects both the native-born citizen and the applicant for citizenship who have or feel that they may have religious scruples in the bearing of arms in war, though subject, it may be, to non-combatant duties.

‘Be it further resolved that we extend our sympathy to Professor Macintosh in his dilemma and to all others in the same plight.’²⁰

Two of the three National Study Conferences on the Churches and World Peace have protested against the refusal of citizenship on the ground of objection to bearing arms. The Evanston conference (1930) urged that 'the statutes relating to the naturalization of aliens be amended to this end and be brought into harmony with the spirit and intent of the pact by which the nations have renounced war as an instrument of national policy.'

A considerable number of city and state Councils of Churches have manifested a keen interest in the question of conscience and citizenship.* The Pennsylvania Council of Churches insists that relief must be found from the decision of the Supreme Court in the Macintosh case. The Ohio Council of Churches is of the opinion that 'governments which ignore the Christian conscience of men in time of peace cannot justly claim the lives of men in time of war.' 'We deplore,' say these Ohio preachers, 'making military service against conscience a test of citizenship, as in the Macintosh case. . . .' ²¹

Shortly following the decision in the Macintosh case a number of prominent churchmen sent a memorial to President Hoover in which they said:

'The recent decision of the Supreme Court, which denies the right of citizenship to persons who refuse to abdicate their conscience on the question of participation in armed conflict, forces us, the undersigned citizens, to notify the constituted authorities of our nation that we share the convictions of those who have been denied citizenship.

'Some of the undersigned find it impossible, because of religious and moral scruples, to render any kind of combatant service in time of war. Others share the conviction of one of the persons denied citizenship in the recent Supreme Court decision and cannot promise

support to the government until they have had the opportunity of weighing the moral issues involved in an international struggle.

‘We concur in the minority opinion of the Supreme Court that “in the forum of conscience, duty to a moral power higher than the state has always been maintained. The reservation of that supreme obligation, as a matter of principle, would undoubtedly be made by many of our conscientious citizens. The essence of religion is belief in a relation to God involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation.”’

This statement was signed by the following religious leaders: Rev. W. S. Abernethy, minister Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Peter Ainslie, minister Christian Temple, Baltimore; Rev. William F. Anderson, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church, Boston; Rev. Robert A. Ashworth, editor the *Baptist*, Chicago; Rev. William H. Boddy, minister First Presbyterian Church, Chicago; Rev. W. Russell Bowie, rector Christ Church, New York City; Rev. Benjamin Brewster, Bishop of Maine, Protestant Episcopal church; Rev. Dan B. Brummitt, editor the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, Chicago; Rev. Hugh L. Burleson, Bishop of South Dakota, Protestant Episcopal church; Rev. S. Parkes Cadman, radio minister, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Rev. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Rev. Henry Sloane Coffin, president Union Theological Seminary, New York City; Professor Abraham Cronbach, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati; Rev. A. C. Dieffenbach, editor the *Christian Register*, Boston; Mr. Sherwood Eddy, publicist and author, New York City; Rev. Fred B. Fisher, minister Methodist Episcopal Church, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Rev. Albert Parker Fitch,

minister Park Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City; Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, minister Riverside Church, New York City; Rev. Charles W. Gilkey, dean of the chapel, University of Chicago; Rev. William E. Gilroy, editor the *Congregationalist*, Boston; Rev. L. O. Hartman, editor *Zion's Herald*, Boston; Mr. Hubert C. Herring, Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, New York City; Rev. John Haynes Holmes, minister Community Church, New York City; Rev. S. Arthur Huston, Bishop of Olympia, Protestant Episcopal church, Seattle; Rev. Paul Hutchinson, managing editor the *Christian Century*, Chicago; Rev. Edward L. Israel, chairman Central Conference of American Rabbis, Baltimore; Rev. Burris Jenkins, minister Linwood Boulevard Christian Church, Kansas City; Rev. John Howland Lathrop, minister Church of the Savior, Brooklyn, New York; Rev. Paul S. Leinbach, editor the *Reformed Church Messenger*, Philadelphia; Professor Halford E. Luccock, Yale University Divinity School, New Haven; Rev. Louis L. Mann, rabbi Sinai Temple, Chicago; Rev. Francis J. McConnell, president Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Mr. Harold Marshall, manager the *Christian Leader*, Boston; Rev. Charles Clayton Morrison, editor the *Christian Century*, Chicago; Mrs. Thomas Nicholson, president Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal church, Detroit; Professor Reinhold Niebuhr, Union Theological Seminary; Mr. Kirby Page, editor the *World Tomorrow*, New York City; Rev. Albert W. Palmer, president Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago; Rev. Edward L. Parsons, Bishop of California, Protestant Episcopal church, San Francisco; Rev. Carl S. Patton, moderator Congregational General Council, Los Angeles; Rev. William Scarlett, Bishop of Missouri, Protestant Episcopal church, St. Louis; Rev.

Guy Emery Shipler, editor the *Churchman*, New York City; Rev. Ralph W. Sockman, minister Madison Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, New York City; Rev. Wilson R. Stearly, Bishop of Newark, Protestant Episcopal church; Rev. Ernest Fremont Tittle, minister First Methodist Episcopal Church, Evanston, Ill.; Professor Harry F. Ward, Union Theological Seminary; Professor Luther A. Weigle, dean Yale University Divinity School, New Haven; Rev. Stephen S. Wise, rabbi Free Synagogue, New York City; Miss Mary E. Woolley, president Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

While the door of citizenship was being slammed in the faces of these and other aliens, the doors of certain of our institutions of learning were being closed to a number of youthful American-born citizens who, for reasons of conscience, refused to enroll in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps. In the fall of 1932, Ennis H. Coale, a member of the Methodist Episcopal church, and Wayne L. Lees, a member of the Unitarian church, enrolled as freshmen in the University of Maryland. Both of these young men, on the ground of conscience, sought exemption from the compulsory military training course. This request was denied and the students in question were summarily suspended from the university. One of the young men, Ennis H. Coale, took his case to court and Judge Joseph N. Ulman of the Superior Court of Baltimore City sustained every claim made in his behalf. Judge Ulman found Coale to be a sincere religious conscientious objector to military training and ruled that his suspension from the university was in violation of the charter of the university, of the Maryland Declaration of Rights, and of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The presiding judge also held that the university's policy of exempting conscientious objectors such

as Quakers while withholding similar exemption from a Methodist such as Coale was an illegal discrimination against him. The court ordered the reinstatement of the Methodist undergraduate. The court said:

‘ . . . An analysis of the resolution of the Methodist Episcopal church adopted in 1932 . . . and a comparison of said resolution with the quotation from the Book of Discipline of the Society of Friends (supplied in the evidence) reveals no essential difference between the religious tenets of the Society of Friends and the Methodist Episcopal church on this question. . . . The court, therefore, has no difficulty in finding that, tested pragmatically, the rule of the Methodist Episcopal church and the rule of the Society of Friends are identical.

‘ Under the past and present rules and practices of the University of Maryland, a student who is a member of the Society of Friends and requests to be excused from taking any and all parts of the course in military training is so excused. . . . It is deemed proper to say that the exemption granted by the university to members of the Society of Friends is not a matter of grace, but a matter of right, resting upon the fundamental law of the state and nation. . . .

‘ If religious conscientious objectors are excluded from their state-supported university except upon pain of relinquishing their religious beliefs and principles, then a religious test has been imposed as a condition of their enjoyment of its educational privileges.’²²

The university, adamant in its position, appealed the decision rendered by Judge Ulman. The Court of Appeals of Maryland reversed the decision of the lower court, the judge ruling that there were grave doubts as to the sincerity of Coale and that, in any event, the university was

under no obligation to exempt conscientious objectors, however sincere, from military requirements. The court also ruled that neither the state nor federal Constitutions, nor any state or federal law, offered any protection for Coale.

The Court of Appeals, in this instance, cited the opinion handed down by the United States Supreme Court in the case of Professor Macintosh who had been denied citizenship because he would not promise in advance to bear arms in a future war. 'If the facts ruled on in that case,' the court said, 'afforded no constitutional protection to Macintosh, a conscientious objector, it is difficult to conceive how the Constitution can in this case afford any protection to the appellee as a conscientious objector in his refusal to take military training at the university where he has registered as a student. Not only was he without constitutional support in refusing to take such training, but he was likewise, so far as we have been able to discover, without any law, federal or state, in support of his contention.'²³ The Court of Appeals also ruled that Coale's case could not be argued on grounds of discrimination against Methodists because the university's exemption policy had not recently been followed and was no longer practiced.

Here was a young man, a member of the Methodist Episcopal church, seeking exemption from military training. The University of Maryland is a state institution, supported by public taxation. In giving his reasons for refusing to take military training, Mr. Coale said: 'I have conscientious scruples against war or preparation for war. . . . As a member of the Methodist Episcopal church and Epworth League, which are against compulsory military training, I could not take such a course.' He declared that he was willing to substitute other educational courses for the course in military training. De-

spite this sincere profession of faith and of purpose, Ennis Coale was told to go back home. There was no place in the university for him. He was not wanted. He was a conscientious objector. Judge Ulman, in sustaining his position, ruled that the University of Maryland was required only to offer military training and was not required to make such training compulsory. He also ruled that 'the right to worship according to one's own conscience is one of the liberties protected by the Fourteenth Amendment,' that the charter of the university declares that it shall be 'maintained forever upon the most liberal plan, for the benefit of students of every country and every religious denomination, who shall be freely admitted to equal privileges and advantages of education . . . without requiring or forcing any religious or civil test. . . .'

The Court of Appeals was not at all impressed with the logic of Judge Ulman's position, and, as has already been noted, the decision of the lower court was reversed and Ennis Coale was again suspended from the university. The next step was to take the case to the United States Supreme Court. This court, on November 20, 1933, refused to accept jurisdiction on the ground that no essential fundamental principle was at stake.

One hundred and twenty-five Methodist ministers of Maryland fought for Coale during the progress of his case through the courts. They are still with him. The World Peace Commission of the Methodist Episcopal church exercised itself in his behalf and a statement of the Coale case, together with an appeal for funds with which to finance the various legal appeals, was carried in the religious press of the Methodist and certain other denominations. The Unitarian churches have been no less solicitous of the rights of Wayne L. Lees.

Another case that is attracting considerable attention throughout the church is that of Albert Hamilton and

Alonzo Reynolds, Jr., who were expelled from the University of California at Los Angeles because of conscientious scruples against military training. Both of these young men are sons and grandsons of Methodist ministers. Every able-bodied student at this institution is required to take military drill for two years. The issue at stake is whether the regents of the university have the constitutional right to exclude students from state universities who for reasons of conscience resist instruction in the fine art of how to kill humans. Both of these young men are members in good standing of the Methodist Episcopal church.

'War,' said one of these boys, 'is murder; justify it or not, you cannot evade the fact that war is murder on a mass production scale at the behest of a government. As a Christian, I must stand out against such an activity as war. Since the instruments of war are the military forces of a country, I have no alternative but to refuse to become a part of those forces, whether they are the R.O.T.C. or the United States army.'

The presiding bishop, James C. Baker, supported by a large number of ministers throughout the state of California, is acting as the spokesman of the interested religious groups in defending the rights of these youthful conscientious objectors. Bishop Baker, in commenting on the statement of one of the regents of the University of California at Los Angeles that compulsory drill was 'simply a form of physical exercise,' said: 'From long and intimate study I dissent emphatically from the statement that compulsory military training is "simply a form of physical exercise." One of the chief ways in which the United States is making a war mind is in its compulsory military training in high schools and colleges.'

Public discussion of the case on the university campus

and in the columns of the college press was prohibited by order of the provost, Dr. Ernest C. Moore. In addition to militarizing the minds of the youth of this institution, the university authorities have denied to the protestors the elementary rights of free speech. The California Supreme Court, on January 8, 1934, upheld the action of the regents and these two Methodist young men were obliged to pack up their bags and go back home. There was no place, apparently, in this tax-supported civil institution of learning for undergraduates who were fussy about their conscience. Largely through the help of church friends a lawyer was retained to protect the legal rights of these youthful conscientious objectors. This attorney, Mr. John Beardsley, succeeded in getting Justice Sutherland to sign his application for a Supreme Court review of his case. In arguing his position with respect to these California undergraduates Mr. Beardsley is quoted as saying: 'The Supreme Court of the United States dismissed the appeal in the Coale case for lack of substantial evidence of a federal question. The case of Hamilton and Reynolds against the regents and the University of California presents a number of federal questions, these questions of law arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States. . . . The lawyers of Ennis Coale in the Maryland case specifically announced that they did not claim there was any abridgement of the privileges and immunities of a citizen of the United States. They also announced in substance that the sole question to be determined by the United States Supreme Court was the question of the proper legal interpretation of a Maryland statute touching the subject of military training in the university. . . . We contend that there is a very serious abridgment of the immunities of Hamilton and Reynolds as citizens of the United States, in that under a federal

law they may not be, in time of peace, taken against their will into the federal military service. The R.O.T.C. is distinctly and exclusively a branch of the federal military establishment and is not in any way connected with the state militia."

The significant thing about the opinion rendered by the California Supreme Court is that reference is made to the legal decision reached in the Coale case. The Maryland Court of Appeals cites the opinion of the United States Supreme Court in the Macintosh case and the California Supreme Court cites the opinion of the Maryland Court of Appeals in the Coale case. It will be seen, therefore, that a body of legal precedent is being established which is having the effect of making the state the usurper of conscience.

These two young men were no sooner expelled from the University of California than an announcement was made in the public press that seven students at Ohio State University had been expelled from that institution for refusal to take military drill. Of those expelled two are Presbyterians, one is a Methodist, and one a Congregationalist.

The question might well be asked as to whether or not there is such a thing in the United States as religious liberty. The Nazi régime at this precise moment is seeking to intimidate the churches of the third Reich. Efforts are being made to superimpose upon the churches a form of conduct prescribed by the state. Chancellor Hitler has proclaimed his intention of establishing a 'totalitarian state,' a state in which the programs and policies of all institutions, labor, industrial, cultural and religious, are to be formulated along lines laid down by the government.

Alfred Rosenberg, appointed by Chancellor Hitler to supervise 'the entire intellectual and philosophical schooling' of the Nazi party and its coördinated associations, is

expected to initiate an anti-Christian campaign throughout the third Reich. This Nazi propagandist, in his book, 'Mythology in the Twentieth Century,' says: 'The religion of Jesus was undoubtedly the preaching of love . . . but the German religious movement, which wishes to develop into a people's church, must declare that it unconditionally subordinates the ideal of neighborly love to the idea of national honor. An essential condition of German instruction is the acknowledgment of the fact that Christianity did not bring us civilization, but that Christianity owes its enduring virtues to the Germanic character. The churches, handed over to it again, will, little by little, put the fiery spirit of the hero, in the highest sense, in place of the crucifixion.'²⁴ If Mr. Rosenberg's declarations are to be taken at their face value it means that conscience is to be drafted by the state and the preacher adorned with a Nazi halo.

Religious leaders in the United States and in many other lands have protested against the German government's efforts to secularize religion. But religion is being secularized right here at home. American churchmen who protest the regimentation of the conscience by the state in other lands would do well to reflect upon the extent to which organized religion in the United States is being made to conform to patterns prescribed by the state. The denial of citizenship to aliens who for reasons of conscience are opposed to participation in war, the expulsion from civilian colleges and universities of conscientious objectors to military drill, and the upholding of this practice by the courts represent a situation which, in principle, is indistinguishable from the basic assumption of Hitler's totalitarian state.

And all this takes place in the 'sweet land of liberty,' the land to which our forefathers came in quest of religious

freedom! Nor are these the only cases that challenge the attention of the churches. Appeals for exemption from military drill are being denied in many other institutions of learning. In the fall of 1931, three students at Council Bluffs (Iowa) High School, sons of Seventh Day Adventist parents, sought exemption from the compulsory R.O.T.C. unit. The pleas of these boys were denied by the school board. The Committee on Militarism in Education, in one of its recent bulletins,²⁵ lists nine cases in which a number of students of high schools, colleges and universities were being expelled from their respective schools or threatened with expulsion due to their refusal to take military drill. Many of these young men attributed their refusal to take drill to reasons of conscience.

What are the churches saying about this attempted militarization of the minds of American youth, and this attempt on the part of school authorities, state legislatures, and the bench, to ride roughshod over the consciences of the young men in question?

The cases of Ennis Coale, Wayne Lees, Albert Hamilton and Alonzo Reynolds, Jr., were brought to the attention of the executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches and the following statement of policy was adopted.

'Many church bodies throughout the United States have officially gone on record as being opposed to compulsory military training. These include: Northern Baptist Convention, Congregational and Christian churches, Disciples of Christ, Friends General Conference, Methodist Episcopal church, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, Reformed Church in America, and United Presbyterian church. In several of these official statements conscientious objectors to war and prepara-

tions for war have been assured that they would receive the moral support of the churches with which they are identified.

'The issue of the freedom of conscience has now been joined in the suspension from their respective institutions of learning of several students who refused on the grounds of conscience to take military drill. Ennis H. Coale and Wayne Lees have been suspended from the University of Maryland, Albert Hamilton and Alonzo Reynolds, Jr., have been suspended from the University of California at Los Angeles, and more recently seven conscientious objectors to military drill were suspended from Ohio State University. Many of these students are adherents of communions which are members of the Federal Council.

'The primary responsibility for making military drill compulsory rests with the local college or university administration. The Attorney General of the United States has ruled (June 20, 1930) that even in the case of land grant colleges it is required only that military training be offered and not that students be required to take military drill. In the light of this fact we respectfully urge that students having conscientious objections to military drill be excused from such courses by the responsible officers of the colleges and universities in question. We concur in the judgment of the more than three hundred prominent educators who, in a petition to the House Committee on Appropriations, stated that the procedure of allowing military officers under appointment by the War Department to teach in civil schools and colleges "is not in accord with the best American tradition, or with the best interests of education." We believe that action on the part of local college and university authorities exempting conscientious

objectors from military drill would meet with the overwhelming approval of the vast majority of the Christian thinking people of the nation, who do not regard it as in accord with Christian principles to do violence to the conscience of the individual.

‘There is still another aspect of this question to which we would call the attention of the people of our churches. In certain instances court decisions have been rendered sustaining the action of university authorities in suspending from their studies undergraduates having conscientious objections to military drill.

‘The American people, however, in their conception of the relation of church and state have consistently maintained that each has functions and privileges which cannot properly be invaded by the other. The action of state courts, in upholding the suspension from civil institutions of learning of conscientious objectors to military drill, constitutes in our opinion a grave abridgement of the fundamental rights of religion — rights which the American people have been led to believe would be respected by the state as they are cherished by the church.

‘The view which we hold is that expressed by Chief Justice Hughes that “when one’s belief collides with the power of the state, the latter is supreme within its sphere and submission or punishment follows. But, in the forum of conscience, duty to a moral power higher than the state has always been maintained.”

‘In the light of the foregoing we reaffirm our conviction that civil educational institutions should not make military training compulsory. We believe that in institutions where military training is now compulsory students having conscientious scruples against military drill should be permitted to continue their studies and

that in those cases where such students have been suspended they should be immediately reinstated and given the opportunity to resume their studies.' ²⁶

• The Federal Council of Churches, as far back as 1926, recommended: '(1) that systematic and technical training for youth of high school age is to be deplored as foreign to the aims and ideals of our educational system, (2) that civilian educational institutions should not make military training a required subject, (3) that churches and educational leaders give careful study to the whole question of Reserve Officers' Training Corps in schools and colleges.' ²⁷

A Federal Council publication, entitled 'Military Training in Schools and Colleges,' lists the arguments advanced in opposition to the R.O.T.C., from which the following is taken:

'Military training, especially of youth of high school and junior college age, ingrains into the very mental and moral structure of their being the conviction that preparation for war and war are the normal relations of nations; that, in the settlement of disputes between nations, massed violence is the natural final resort; that in international relations might, regardless of right, is determinative. Discouragement is thereby given to the many efforts now being made to promote international understanding and good will by means of the World Court, arbitration treaties and disarmament conferences.

'Military training, thus, in schools and colleges unconsciously tends to create a mental attitude inimical to the ideals of world justice and world peace. It tends to hinder those movements which may possibly save civilization from the suicide certain to follow another world war.

'Military training tends to create a spirit of arrogance and intolerance toward those who do not give it whole-hearted approval. It fosters the belief on the part of many that they have a monopoly on patriotism, that others are deficient in love of country, are essentially cowards and slackers and are even potential traitors. Some advocates of military training have been unwilling that the pros and cons should be made the subject of public discussion and have sought by sheer authority to prevent such discussion.

'In view of the security enjoyed by the United States because of her geographical situation and enormous man-power and economic power, there is no need for preparations for so enormous a potential army as the existing R.O.T.C. system contemplates. If the United States, enjoying as it does these enormous advantages, insists nevertheless on thus expanding its military program, the result is likely to be that other nations, in suspicion and fear of the United States, will adopt similar methods for the military training of their own youth, and the race in competitive armaments will go on, thus producing an effect the very opposite of that desired.

'The national security and safety from attack sought for by advocates of "adequate preparedness" cannot be achieved by "preparedness" alone, however great. More important than "preparedness" are national policies of justice, consideration, patience and impartial appreciation of the needs and viewpoints of other nations. These factors so essential to security and peace are as a rule ignored or even spurned by advocates of "adequate preparedness." Military training as given in the R.O.T.C. tends to create a mind-set and a spirit inimical to these considerations.

'It is an unwise thing in itself for our educational in-

stitutions to surrender any part of their work and responsibility to any outside organization, even to the federal government or to the War Department. For civilian educational institutions to make military training compulsory in peace time is wholly contrary to the spirit and ideals of the American people.

‘Our forefathers came to this land in order to be free from the domination of militaristic, oppressive bureaucracies. The whole trend of propaganda and effort by the Army and Navy Departments of our government tends to reproduce in America the very conditions which we condemn in Europe.’

Inasmuch as many of the students concerned in this situation are Methodists it will be of interest to know what the Methodist Episcopal church thinks about the military regimentation of their own young people. The General Conference of this particular denomination has declared its unalterable opposition to all military training in high schools and to compulsory military training in colleges and universities. In 1932 the General Conference went a step further and pledged the moral support of the church to conscientious objectors. The conference said: ‘We petition the government of the United States to grant to members of the Methodist Episcopal church who may be conscientious objectors to war the same exemption from military service as has long been granted to members of the Society of Friends and other similar religious organizations. Similarly we petition all educational institutions which require military training to excuse from such training any student belonging to the Methodist Episcopal church who has conscientious scruples against it.’

The Methodists have supplemented these resolutions with action of the most positive sort. Through the World Peace Commission of this communion funds have been

solicited to aid Methodist conscientious objectors to take their respective cases into court. This was done in the Maryland case of Ennis Coale, in the California case of Alonzo Reynolds, Jr., and Albert Hamilton and in the Ohio State case. With respect to the latter situation not only were funds solicited by the Methodist World Peace Commission but committees were appointed to secure a rehearing of the case, efforts were made to awaken the church at large regarding the important issues at stake, communications were addressed to the president of the university, interviews were held with the boys involved, and newspaper releases were sent by the commission to the secular and daily press. Who said that the churches were interested solely in the making of pronouncements?

The Presbyterians (U. S. A.), in response to a memorial addressed to the General Assembly from the Westminster Presbyterian Student Society at Ithaca, New York, have affirmed their purpose to give moral support to their members having conscientious scruples against military drill. The memorial, signed by the chairman of the Student Committee, said in part: 'Fathers and Brethren: We believe it to be self-evident that no man, coming to the college of his choice in pursuit of a higher education, should be forced, under pain of dismissal, to support a system which educated men of the world have learned to despise; that no system working in direct opposition to the teachings of Jesus Christ should be tolerated by professing Christians; and that no man should be compelled, against his Christian principles, to train himself as an integral part of the war system. We, members of the Westminster Student Society of the First Presbyterian Church of Ithaca, N. Y., ask that you, as leaders of our church, pledge yourselves to uphold any person who, as a follower of Jesus Christ, conscientiously objects to taking part in

military drill or conscription of any sort.' The incident which led to the presentation of this memorial was the refusal of the administration at Cornell University to excuse the president of the Westminster Society, as a conscientious objector, from completing his required military training.

The Presbyterian General Assembly, in response to this student memorial, said: 'We put ourselves on record as opposed to all militarism in spirit and in propaganda. We favor such voluntary drill and training as may seem wise to students and their parents for purposes of precision, obedience and team-work, but we are opposed to forcing students in high schools, colleges, universities and other educational institutions to any form of military organization or exercise. Rather we favor the cultivation of sentiments of peace and of eagerness to find ways of coöperation that shall reach all men everywhere. This expression is intended to set forth our devotion to the Prince of Peace and to his message for all men, to the end that our testimony in pulpit and class shall be in full harmony with our system of training and education. That in view of this action, the Board of Christian Education be instructed to take such action as may be necessary to establish the status of a Presbyterian who has conscientious objections to war as being the same as that of a member of the Society of Friends.'²⁸

A year later the Presbyterian General Assembly was advised 'that the Board of Christian Education has taken the following steps in accordance with the instruction of the General Assembly of 1931 "to establish the status of a Presbyterian who has conscientious objections to war as being the same as that of a member of the Society of Friends": (a) the action of the General Assembly of 1931 in this respect was transmitted by the office of the

General Assembly to the President and to the Secretary of State; (b) the Board of Christian Education has transmitted copies of this action to the presidents of universities in which our church carries on religious work, and to Presbyterian pastors in such universities.'

The 1934 Presbyterian General Assembly taking into account the falling income available for public school education and reaffirming its hostility to the R.O.T.C. said: 'We especially deplore the continued expenditure of vast sums of money to maintain military training units, including the Citizens' Military Training Camps and the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and we call the attention of our people and of the public to the increased appropriations of the government for these purposes in days when the facilities for primary and secondary education have been lessened because our local units are, in many places, unable to maintain them. It amounts to a public scandal that a nation should increase its expenditure for military training while ordinary educational institutions cannot be maintained.'

The Disciples of Christ demand 'the elimination of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps from all colleges and high schools except those required by law to maintain such units, and that in these the courses be made elective rather than required, in harmony with the ruling of the Attorney General of the United States.'²⁹ As in the case of the Methodists, the Disciples of Christ have come to the support of conscientious objectors to military drill. The resolution embodying this action says: '... in recognition of the personal conviction of a considerable number of Disciples of Christ (be it resolved that this convention), file with the proper authorities of the government of the United States of America, a statement of fact that there are within the membership of the Churches of Christ in-

dividuals who, as conscientious followers of Jesus, cannot take active part as combatants in any military warfare, and request that these individuals be granted complete exemption from military service on the basis of this conviction of Christian faith.' ³⁰

The Northern Baptists in taking their stand against the compulsory features of the R.O.T.C. said that 'compulsory military training in schools and colleges contributes to militarism and imbues the youth of the country with the inevitability of war and reliance upon force to achieve national ends. . . .' ³¹

Five years later the Northern Baptist Convention became rather more specific in its recommendations regarding the R.O.T.C. It said, in part: '. . . we further call on our pastors and people to defend in the pulpit, before school authorities, and before the courts, when necessary, all Baptist students who for conscience' sake refuse to submit to military training in high schools, colleges and universities; and that we ask our governments, federal and state, to grant these persons and all other conscientious objectors the same rights of conscience as now enjoyed by the Society of Friends.' ³²

The Evangelical Synod of North America has taken a similar stand in the following resolution: 'We declare our definite and firm opposition to all forms of compulsory military training in high schools, colleges and universities as well as the Citizens' Military and Officers' Reserve Training Camps. The General Conference petitions the government of the United States to grant to members of the Evangelical Synod of North America who may be conscientious objectors to war, the same exemption from military service as has long been granted to members of the Society of Friends and other similar religious organizations. Similarly, to petition all educational institutions

which require military training to excuse from such training any student belonging to the Evangelical Synod of North America who has conscientious scruples against it.' ³³

The Congregational and Christian churches are of the opinion: '(1) That military training should not be established or maintained in high schools supported by public funds, and (2) that compulsory military training in Congregational colleges and in aforesaid tax-supported institutions should be forthwith abandoned, and further (3) that, in such land grant colleges as are required to offer military training, we urge Congressional action to release all instructors in courses of military science from the direct control of the War Department to the control of the regularly instituted local authorities.' ³⁴

The 1934 General Council of Congregational and Christian churches voted 'that in the face of the system of compulsory military training maintained in our high schools, land grant schools, colleges and universities, we reaffirm our conviction in the right of all students to be conscientious objectors on religious or ethical grounds. We pledge to our Congregational and Christian young people our support in their endeavor to live by the dictates of the religious and ethical conscience.'

Compulsory military training is described by the Reformed Church in America as being 'out of harmony with the national policy as expressed in the Pact of Paris' and it is further stated that 'the expenditure of public funds for compulsory military training in colleges and high schools and for citizen's military training camps is unduly wasteful.' ³⁵

The Friends, long-time champions of the rights of conscience, have expressed a desire 'to unite in arousing

public opinion which will oppose the compulsory feature of this type of military training and also all military training in educational institutions.' ³⁶

The United Presbyterians would put a stop at once to all compulsory military training. This is what they say: 'The General Assembly believes that compulsory military training in our public schools, colleges and universities should cease, and that we request the presidents of all educational institutions having compulsory military training to abolish the compulsory feature of the system, believing that only by so doing can we observe the intent and spirit of the peace pact. We favor the abolition of all military training in high schools or for youth of high school age, as such training tends to foster the war spirit and to develop a wrong attitude toward life.' ³⁷

The Methodist Episcopal church, South, has joined the swelling ranks of the denominations protesting against the R.O.T.C. The General Conference of this body is on record in the following manner: 'We condemn all practices and customs that develop the spirit of war by making our young people think in terms of war. For this reason, we condemn military training in our state colleges, and especially in our church institutions. The evils of directing the thoughts of the young people through war channels much more than offset any supposed cultural development which is claimed by the proponents of military training. We vigorously protest against any distinction or discrimination in dealing with conscientious objectors to war. We earnestly contend that all who conscientiously object to military training and service should receive like treatment by the government regardless of what name they bear or to what organization they belong. It is not only inconsistent but is a gross injustice for one

class to be relieved from military service because of their conscientious objection, while another class, equally conscientious, are compelled to bear arms.' ³⁸

The Church of the Brethren believes 'that any attempt to teach, cultivate, foster or extend the military spirit in our civil and educational institutions is incompatible with the true spirit of democracy; and that such military programs should be discouraged by all people who believe in the solemn covenants which this nation has made in the Paris peace pact and other peace sanctions.' ³⁹

The American Section of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the churches has long stood for the elimination of the compulsory feature of the R.O.T.C. 'In signing the Kellogg-Briand pact the United States through joint action with all other nations renounced war as a means of settling international disputes,' the World Alliance says. 'In view of the new situation created by this pact, we deplore any tendency toward militarism in education, inculcating as it does the belief that international questions are to be settled by war in the future as in the past. We particularly oppose all military training in public schools and high schools, and compulsory military training in colleges and universities other than strictly military establishments. We commend the proposal now being studied by the authorities in several universities and colleges for the substitution of a course in international law as an alternative to military training, which course may be elected by any student opposed to the military system. As our nation took the lead in formulating the Pact of Paris, it is fitting that our nation should also lead in developing a policy of peace education. The United States can take this lead by the immediate abolition of the R.O.T.C. and dependence hereafter upon institutions founded as war colleges for the training

of such military and naval forces as may be necessary to fulfill our international obligations and maintain law and order within the boundaries of our own country.' ⁴⁰

In certain instances State Councils of Churches have declared their unalterable opposition to compulsory military training. The Ohio Council of Churches has exercised itself in behalf of the conscientious objectors who were suspended from Ohio State University. The 1934 Ohio Pastors' Convention, taking particular note of the situation at Ohio State University, resolved: '(1) That we will uphold the freedom of conscience and the right of young men to an education in our tax-supported university without having their moral convictions repudiated and their thoughts regimented; (2) That we ministers reaffirm the unqualified peace pronouncements of previous conventions and call attention to actions taken by church bodies such as the Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, Evangelical Synod, Congregational, Disciples of Christ, and many others regarding compulsory military training and the whole war system; (3) That we pledge ourselves to the organization of the Protestant ministry in Ohio for a united protest against compulsory military training in connection with our educational system and to the active support of such conscientious objectors as may be threatened with sacrifice of their education in the meantime.'

An organization of Ohio pastors is now under way and plans are being laid for a state-wide protest of churches against the suspension of conscientious objectors at Ohio State University.

The Pennsylvania Council of Churches testifies to its belief on this question in the following manner: 'We are appalled by the fact that our young men are compelled in some of our schools and colleges to submit to military education, whether conscience approves or not; we protest

against the deliberate efforts being used by the military officers engaged in such work to create and foster the mind to war. The recent decision of the United States Attorney General shows clearly that land grant colleges are not obligated to have compulsory military training. Such training has deleterious effects on the physical development of many students which have had to be corrected by special gymnastic treatment. We earnestly urge that courses in citizenship with definite training towards international good will be placed in all school curricula. If the Kellogg pact is to be effective in this and succeeding generations, we must create a mind to peace by the education of the young especially, in the principles of international justice and coöperation.⁴¹

The Second National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, participated in by the representatives of thirty-five communions and allied religious organizations, said: 'We hold that the churches should support and sustain with moral approval individuals who, in the exercise of their right of conscience, refuse to take part in war or in military training.'⁴² The Third National Study Conference reaffirmed its belief with respect to military training by calling upon the government 'to respect the principle of free conscience with regard to war,' and calling upon the church 'to support with moral approval individuals who hold conscientious convictions against participation in military training or military service.'⁴³

In commenting further on the evils inherent in compulsory military training this body of churchmen said: 'With regard to the Reserve Officers' Training Corps we call the attention of the churches to the particular dangers of military compulsion, military propaganda and military money inhering in War Department control of

this military education in civil universities and schools. We urge the churches throughout the country to gather fact material in local communities and states and study intensively the psychological effects of military courses, especially their effect on the attitudes of students toward such questions as preparedness, the World Court, 100 per cent nationalism, freedom of speech and discussion, etc. We also urge that wherever compulsory military training exists our churches shall spread the facts concerning it so as to facilitate speedy abolition of the same. We recommend coöperation with the Committee on Militarism in Education and other peace agencies studying this subject. Especially in high schools and church schools and colleges we believe that military training is out of place and that there should be no compulsory military courses in any civil institution of higher learning. To this extent, at least, the National Defense Act should be revised and amended so that our government, which has signed the Pact of Paris renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, will no longer aid in coercing school boys to prepare for battle.'

The Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, the Council of Women for Home Missions, and the Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions are among the many other church bodies which have taken a stand against compulsory military training in civil educational institutions.

The Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives was petitioned in 1932 by more than three hundred prominent educators to take the War Department out of the field of education. This was a direct slap at the R.O.T.C. and the Citizens' Military Training Camps. Many prominent churchmen signed this petition, including presidents of denominational colleges,

teachers of religion; and heads of theological seminaries. These educators argued that the National Defense Act under which the R.O.T.C. is instituted does not provide for instruction in the general field of education by representatives and appointees of the War Department. They declared that the procedure of allowing the War Department and military men to teach their own particular theories of 'citizenship' in civil schools and colleges 'is not in accord with the best American tradition, or with the best interests of education.'

Certain denominational colleges and universities have refused any longer to make military training compulsory. President Daniel L. Marsh of Boston University (Methodist Episcopal), coincident with abolishing compulsory military training in this institution, said: 'My reasons for abolishing the compulsory feature may be succinctly stated as follows: First, because I am an American and believe in America; I am opposed to Russianizing, Prussianizing or Europeanizing America. Compulsory military drill is foreign to the genius of America. Second, because I stand shoulder to shoulder with all good Americans in their opposition to war. Some feel that a high state of military preparedness is the best guaranty against war. I do not agree with them. Third, because I believe in Boston University. It was not founded to train men to fight. Fourth, I am opposed to compulsory military drill because I try to be a Christian. If I understand the spirit of Christianity, it is opposed to war.'

The views of President Marsh are shared by many of the administrative officers of our denominational colleges and universities.

DePauw University, one of our larger church institutions of higher learning, has abolished the R.O.T.C. altogether. The trustees of this university have requested the

War Department to withdraw the R.O.T.C. unit from the DePauw curriculum at the end of the 1934 school year. Coincident with this action the trustees, in a statement to the press, said: 'The board is acquainted with the fact that the following organizations are on record as opposed to compulsory military training and some of them to all military training in civilian institutions: World Federation of Education Associations, the National Education Association, the American Physical Education Association, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the Northern Baptist Convention, the National Council of Congregational Churches, the Presbyterian General Assembly, the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, the Disciples of Christ, the General Synod of the Reformed Church of America, the Central Conference of Jewish Rabbis, and the National Student Council of the Young Men's Christian Association.' The popularity of the R.O.T.C. unit at DePauw has been waning for some years. During the academic year 1933-34, scarcely enough students elected to take military drill to keep the unit in existence. (The National Defense Act specifies that at least one hundred students must be enrolled in a unit if it is to be supported by federal funds). The editor-in-chief of the student newspaper at DePauw, in commenting on the action taken by the trustees of that institution, said: 'The students by their lack of support have shown they do not want the unit. The student paper is whole-heartedly behind the trustees' action in requesting the withdrawal of the unit.'

The American philosophy of the relation of church and state has always been that religion has certain rights which cannot be invaded by the state. These rights are now being invaded. The churches can do nothing less than protest against the attempted secularization of conscience.

For the churches God must come first. It is precisely because the churches cannot render unto Cæsar the things that are God's that they are insisting that the present naturalization laws be amended so as to remove any necessity for such decisions as those handed down in the United States Supreme Court in the Macintosh and Bland cases. For similar reasons the churches insist that military training in schools and colleges be placed upon a strictly voluntary basis. The churches, in short, will not submit to the mortgaging of the conscience by the state. Or, as the *Christian Century* puts it: "Our consciences are not for sale. We give to no government the right to conscript our religion. We refuse to bow down and worship the state. We refuse to bear arms or to aid in any way a war which we believe to be contrary to the will of God. This may be treason, it is not for us to say, but if it is treason, let the defenders of tyranny make the most of it."⁴⁴

NOTES ON CHAPTER V

¹ Thomas, Norman, *The Conscientious Objector in America*, pp. 159-60, B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York.

² Gray, Harold Studley, *Character 'Bad'*, Harper & Bros., New York.

³ Quoted in hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, Seventy-first Congress, second session, on H. R. 3547, pp. 13-14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁸ *United States Daily*, May 26, 1931.

⁹ Brief on behalf of Edward L. Parsons, et al., as Amici Curiae, in the United States of America against Marie Averil Bland, before the Supreme Court of the United States, October term, 1930, p. 2.

¹⁰ The *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 13, 1934.

¹¹ Executive committee, Washington, D. C., December 5, 1930.

¹² Northern Baptist Convention, 1930.

¹³ Disciples of Christ, International Convention, 1930.

14 Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., General Assembly, 1930, reaffirmed in 1931.

15 Christian church, General Convention, 1929.

16 Methodist Episcopal church, General Conference, 1932.

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18 Protestant Episcopal church, General Convention, 1931.

19 Seventh Day Baptist church, General Conference, 1931.

20 American Unitarian Association, Biennial Conference, 1931.

21 Ohio Pastors' Convention, 1932.

22 Ruling printed in the *Baltimore Daily Record*, January 25, 1933.

23 Ruling printed in the *Baltimore Daily Record*, June 26, 1933.

24 *The New York Times*, February 3, 1934.

25 *Breaking the War Habit*, November 15, 1933.

26 Federal Council of Churches, executive committee, January, 1934.

27 Federal Council of Churches, administrative committee, May, 1926.

28 Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., General Assembly, 1931.

29 Disciples of Christ, International Convention, 1931.

30 Disciples of Christ, International Convention, 1933.

31 Northern Baptist Convention, 1929.

32 Northern Baptist Convention, 1934.

33 Evangelical Synod of North America, General Conference, 1925, reaffirmed in 1933 and 1934.

34 Congregational and Christian churches, General Council, 1931.

35 Reformed Church in America, General Synod, 1932.

36 Friends General Conference, 1928.

37 United Presbyterian church, General Assembly, 1930.

38 Methodist Episcopal church, South, General Conference, 1934.

39 Church of the Brethren, Annual Conference, 1932.

40 International Goodwill Congress, 1933.

41 Pennsylvania Council of Churches Reports, 1930-31.

42 Second National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, 1929.

43 Third National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, 1930.

44 *The Christian Century*, June 10, 1931.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCHES OF THE WORLD COMBAT THE WAR SYSTEM

‘I may be a fool, but if so I am God’s fool.’

The speaker was the Right Reverend Charles H. Brent. Gathered before him were the 610 churchmen, representing 31 communions and 37 nations, who participated in the deliberations of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, which met in Stockholm in 1925.

Bishop Brent had been speaking of the duty of the churches in pacifying the relations of nations. ‘What is now needed more than anything else,’ he said, ‘is courage to try God’s way in reaching after God’s purpose in all the great as well as all the small affairs of life; there is only one road to God’s purpose and that is God’s way, or shall I say God’s highway. Fear, suspicion and doubt hold the nations in thrall. There are many international injustices to be rectified. War will never do the job. It may begin as an instrument in the hand of nations. It inevitably ends in the chastisement of all involved, innocent and guilty, victors and vanquished. Every war has in it the seeds of another war. . . . It is because I believe in the sanctity of the nation and the magnificence of patriotism; it is because I believe youth can best serve the nation and mankind by living for duty rather than dying for it, that I reaffirm my belief that the Christian church if it be so minded can, in the name of Christ, rule out war and rule in peace within a generation. I may be a fool, but if so I am God’s fool.’¹

Among those who listened to Bishop Brent's memorable address were representatives of the churches of France and of Germany and other nations that only a few years before had been engaged in a death struggle upon the far-flung battle-fronts of the World War. And now, seven years after the signing of the armistice, Germans and Frenchmen were facing one another again, but the thoughts that raced through the minds of these churchmen were thoughts of peace and reconciliation.

The Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, regarded by many as the most significant gathering of churchmen since Nicea, adopted a message in which the delegates expressed their horror of war and their determination to labor for world justice and peace. The message is quoted in part: 'We have also set forth the guiding principles of a Christian internationalism, equally opposed to a national bigotry and a weak cosmopolitanism. We have affirmed the universal character of the church, and its duty to preach and practice the love of the brethren. We have considered the relation of the individual conscience to the state. We have examined the race problem, the subject of law and arbitration, and the constitution of an international order which would provide peaceable methods for removing the causes of war — questions which in the tragic conditions today make so deep an appeal to our hearts. We summon the churches to share with us our sense of the horror of war, and of its futility as a means of settling international disputes, and to pray and work for the fulfillment of the promise that under the scepter of the Prince of Peace, "mercy and truth shall meet together, righteousness and peace shall kiss each other." ' 2

In the nine years that have elapsed since the convening of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work

the churches of Europe and other lands have moved slowly but surely toward the pacifist position of the early church. The warless world envisaged by Bishop Brent in his memorable Stockholm address has so far failed of realization. As a matter of fact, the nations are nearer war today than they were on the day when this prophetic Protestant Episcopal bishop took pride in the fact that if he were a fool he was God's fool. But the churches of the world are more determined than ever to combat war and to work for peace. Here and there voices of Christian leaders are heard far above the clamor of racial and national bigots who lust for blood. In Germany, Protestant and Roman Catholic clergymen stoutly resist the Nazi call to battle. In Japan the intrepid Kagawa calls the militarists to repentance. In the preface that he was asked to contribute to the Chinese edition of his book, *Love, the Law of Life*, Kagawa writes:

✓ 'It has made me very sad, for my nation is constantly breaking the law of love toward the Middle Kingdom. I myself love China as I love Japan. For a long time I have been praying for the speedy coming of peace in China; and in the light of Japan's immoral acts, I am surprised at the tolerance of the Chinese brother who has translated my book. Though a million times I should ask pardon, it would not suffice to cover the sins of Japan. For this reason I have lacked the courage to write this introduction. Chinese leaders may well accuse me of impotence. I deserve the charge.

'If only Japan will repent, and establish permanent friendship with China! There is no other way than by the law of love. And this applies not only to the relations between China and Japan. If we hope for a progressive uniting of all the national and racial cultures of the world, there is no other way of achieving it than

through the principle of redemptive love. The law of redemptive love is the fundamental law of the universe. . . . It is the redemptive love lived and practiced by Christ that alone transcends race. This type of redemptive love must grow in us, and in coöperation with the spirit of the universe we must labor to save the unhappy peoples of the world. Because the Japanese nation has been unable to sense this great redemptive love, I suffer the sorrows of the prophet Jeremiah. Forgive us, you sons of Confucius and Motzu, forgive us in the name of your great peace-loving sages! Some day the Japanese will cast away the sword and gun and awaken to love of the cross. At present I can think of nothing but to beseech your pardon. And there are countless young souls in Japan who, like myself, are asking for pardon. This is my message to Chinese brothers who may read this book.' ³

British churchmen, deeply concerned over the threatened breakdown of the World Disarmament Conference, met recently at Lambeth Palace and issued a statement on world peace over the signature of His Grace, the Archbishop. This statement was drawn up as a result of a series of meetings at which were present representatives of practically all the non-Roman sections of Christianity in Great Britain. The Message to Christians of All Lands issued by the Federal Council of Churches, the American sections of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work and the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches was before the Lambeth Palace Conference when the following statement of the British churchmen was adopted:

'Beyond all doubt there is throughout the world a deep and ardent longing for peace. We believe that the overwhelming majority of men and women in every

country desire that international disputes should be settled by peaceable means. But widespread fear, suspicion and mistrust seem to paralyze the nations and to prevent their governments from taking decisive steps to give effect to this desire. . . .

'The need of the world at the present time is a sense of security. We are convinced that this sense of security is incompatible with armaments on their present scale. Such armaments may seem to give to an individual nation a sense of its own security; but they do so only at the cost of increasing the sense of insecurity among other nations. It is therefore of the utmost importance that the Disarmament Conference should effect some real measure of limitation, reduction and control of armaments. The complete failure of that conference would, we believe, inevitably lead to further competition in armaments all round, and, still more, would inexcusably betray the hopes and desires of multitudes throughout the world.

'Moreover, we cannot forget that in the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 reduction and limitation of armaments were imposed upon Germany "in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations." We cannot acquiesce in any continued neglect of the moral obligation which this declaration involves. . . .

' . . . The chief obstacle to the attainment of the security which the world needs, as also to recovery from economic depression, is the spirit of a narrow and self-seeking nationalism, which refuses to pay the price whereby alone security and recovery can be achieved.

'The price is willingness to accept the principle of the collective action of nations as members of one great commonwealth. This principle implies that, when dis-

putes arise, a nation can no longer insist upon being judge in its own cause, but must be prepared to submit the issue in dispute to international judgment.

'This principle also requires that agreement to refer disputes to international judgment should carry with it agreement to accept the judgment when given and readiness, if need be, to join in giving it effect.

'In spite of many adverse signs, we believe that the reason and conscience of mankind are moving toward acceptance of this principle. But, unless the principle of collective action speedily becomes not only acknowledged by the peoples, but dominant in their minds and in the policies of their governments, the League of Nations can never exercise in the world's life the influence which it is imperative that it should exercise, and civilization itself is in peril.

'To us Christians it is a matter of conviction that God our Father wills that the nations, as well as individuals, should live as members of one family, that what he wills is possible and that his help is pledged to us in every effort to achieve it. To refuse to take the next step forward toward the goal is, for us, not only folly, but sin. But we believe that many who do not share our religious conviction will share our belief that the present hour is in the highest degree critical in human history and that, at this time, all national and party interests should be subordinated to the supreme interest of securing the peace of the world.'⁴

Those coöperating in the drawing up of this declaration included such leaders of both the established and free churches as Canon Barry, Dr. S. M. Berry, the Bishops of Chichester, Coventry, Llandaff, Winchester and York; the Deans of Canterbury, Chichester, and Rochester, Drs. Dearmer, Garvie, Griffiths-Jones, Fox, Hughes, Scott

Lidgett, Rushbrooke and Workman, likewise General Higgins of the Salvation Army.

Another evidence of the fact that British churchmen, no less than American churchmen, seem determined to throw the weight of their influence on the side of the forces making for peace is to be found in the action of the leaders of the clergy Pensions Institution of the Church of England who decided to sell the munitions stock held in the portfolios of the Pension Fund. According to a recent press dispatch it was decided to sell \$50,000 worth of Vickers stock, on the ground that it was incompatible with Christian principles to hold armament shares.

Still another of the voices of English churchmen in this hour of world crisis is that of the Society of Friends. In a statement entitled 'War Expenditure and Christianity' the British Society of Friends say:

'The estimates for the navy, army and air force have increased by nearly ten millions in the last two years. At a time of great financial stringency, when nearly all—even the very poor—have had to face serious reductions in income, the nation yet contrives to spend more on its armaments. Other nations are doing the same under similar circumstances. Our own nation has been clearly warned that, should agreement as to a measure of disarmament fail to be reached, the government has every intention of entering once more upon a mad race in armaments.

'The debates in the House of Commons on the estimates have revealed that the old war mentality still persists. The World War, the Covenant of the League, even the Pact of Paris itself, seem to have taught men nothing. "Security" through armaments is still the governing thought. The old lie—if you wish for peace,

prepare for war — still holds sway. Christian nations have apparently no faith in the teaching of their Leader. They do not believe in conquering their "enemies" by love.

We, members of the Society of Friends, desire to call our fellow-men to a realization that in international relationships there is a more excellent way than the building up of armaments. We seek for the good in every man; we believe that, for the Christian, the only approach to an "enemy" is in the spirit of love — and that such an approach cannot be made with bayonet and poison gas. We believe in the conquering power of love, not as some weak and negative influence, but exercised as a mighty force which is capable of loving to the uttermost, even though it mean a cross. Do we profess to be Christians? Then let us seek to live the Christ life, to live in the virtue of that life and power which will take away the occasion of all war.'⁵

From Holland there is heard the pacifist witness of the Reformed Union for Real Disarmament. In a paper entitled 'Witness' and addressed 'To the Christian Churches in All Countries,' the Reformed Union says, in part:

'To urge the churches to this cry (for real disarmament) over the world, we address this witness to the church of Jesus Christ in its various denominations. May it, however, be said beforehand that his witness is not born from a spirit of admonition and censure, but only from the upright desire that the church of Jesus Christ shall do now what only she can do in obedience to her Lord: help the world and save it from the paws of the horrible violence of war, which holds the life of mankind in its grasp. . . .

'The condemnation of war as sin before God is not

the task of any disarmament conference, but that of the churches. Now that everything breaks down under the violence of war, now that man is unable to put a stop to it, now the Spirit of Christ only can save us. The Spirit of Christ, which Christ is pouring out and will continue to pour out into his churches if only they will free themselves from all sinful relation to nationality and race, realizing that they are neither national nor international but supernational and that it is in this way only that they can rise above the passions that separate the nations from each other, thus to be a shining light in this world, sending forth its rays and passing on the brightness of the Light of the World, and to lead the world out of the chaos of war, therein being a witness of the supreme Leader and Accomplisher of our faith, whose love, poured out into man, expels the spirit of war from the hearts, and by doing so from society as well.

‘It is with great earnest and urgency that we ask all Christian churches to confess their common guilt and after that join hands together awaiting the blessing of God, to combat the danger of war, to the honor of our God and Savior, to the well-being of the world, to the building up of the community of Jesus Christ. We express our ardent desire that simultaneous synodical meetings shall be called together, which then, in a joint meeting, shall pronounce an unanimous witness before all the world. And God give that this witness may be to the effect of the unconditional rejection and condemnation of the violence of war with the admonition to all members of the churches to give up the iniquity and the sin that war and the preparation for war is. This admonition is bound to come from the churches if they better realize on the one hand the unbreakable unity of

all those who know themselves to be saved and purified from all their sins, and on the other hand of the reality that all service in war means a devilish endeavor to break the unity of the Christian churches, such as indeed outwardly happens when on the battlegrounds Christians are called upon to kill one another with the most barbaric and inhuman weapons.' ⁶

For many years, and more particularly since the Stockholm conference, the Protestant and Orthodox churches of the various countries have been seeking to sheathe the swords of the nations. The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, instituted in 1914, has as its primary objective the promotion of world justice and peace. It was at the World Alliance meeting at The Hague, in 1919, that preliminary plans were laid for the convening of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work. Two years later, at Geneva, a preliminary international conference of churchmen was held, and this conference sent out a significant call to prayer from which the following is taken: 'The members of this preliminary International Conference at Geneva, drawn together by a consciousness of the painful and urgent need of the world, and by a conviction that only the gospel and spirit and leadership of Jesus Christ can meet that need, and that only a church united, consecrated, daring and self-forgetful can form the body through which this spirit may do his gracious and healing work, earnestly and solemnly appeal to Christians of every name and form, of every land and race, to pray now and continually for the coming of a fuller unity for the world; for a readiness on the part of all Christians to make new ventures of faith, and to take more seriously the implications of the gospel; for the deepening and broadening of love among all Christ's followers toward all men; for the elimination

of all passion and prejudice, and the growth of peace and brotherhood; for clearer vision of the will of God and of the work of Christ in this day; and for all that may further the coming of his kingdom.' "

In this spirit the Stockholm Conference was convened in 1925 and this date marks the beginning of a truly interchurch movement among the Christians of all lands in the interest of peace.

The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, for some years prior to the Stockholm meeting, was instrumental in bringing together representative groups of Christians from nations lately at war. Councils of the World Alliance were established in many nations and binding those councils together was an international committee (now known as the International Council) headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Pronouncements were made by the World Alliance on such questions as the making and keeping of treaties, on the rights of religious and racial minorities, and on disarmament. The deliberations and findings of the alliance during the years immediately following the World War constitute one of the brightest chapters in the history of the Christian church. It was demonstrated that in the Christian faith there was a bond of fellowship which could not permanently be sundered by the ravages of war.

It would be impossible within the brief compass of a single volume to quote from the pronouncements of the World Alliance regarding the duty of the churches in the Christianization of international relations. It will suffice to point to certain utterances of more recent years in which it has been made clear that the followers of Jesus in other lands are becoming increasingly aware of their inescapable duty to work for a warless world.

The League of Nations has a staunch supporter in the

World Alliance. At Mürren, in 1930, the management committee of the World Alliance, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the creation of the League, expressed its 'gratitude to the League as the unique institution which accords with an age-long aspiration of all mankind for peace and understanding. The World Alliance, as a world-wide organization of Christians, seeking the extension and application of brotherhood through coöperation has, during these ten years, followed with highest appreciation the services to world peace which the League has rendered. The World Alliance likewise renews the expression of its keen desire to see the League become universal and increasingly influential throughout all nations without exception.'

The situation of the churches in Russia was brought to the attention of the World Alliance at its Mürren meeting at which time the management committee expressed its 'sympathy with all persons suffering for their faith in Russia' and asked the National Councils of the Alliance 'to avail themselves of all opportunities, by speech and written word and other peaceful influences, to arouse the general opinion of their nations so as to counteract the religious persecutions carried on in Russia.'

A World Conference of churchmen was convened by the World Alliance in Prague in 1928. The Protestant and Orthodox churches of twenty-six nations were represented at this gathering of church leaders. The one question around which the discussion centered had to do with the reduction of armaments.

'Men find themselves within a vicious circle,' the Prague Conference said. 'Lack of security and of mutual confidence impedes disarmament; whilst the continued maintenance of great military establishments breeds fear and suspicion. It is time that the problem

were approached from some other point of view and in the search for a solution it may be helpful to turn to the religious aspect of the question and, in particular, to see whether the application of Christian principles will not show to men in this case, as in others, a way to pass through what have appeared to be insurmountable difficulties.'

A decade had passed since the Allied and Associated Powers had stated that the forced disarmament of Germany was to be regarded as only the first step toward a general reduction of military establishments. The Prague Conference, deploring the fact that this solemn obligation of the nations to disarm had yielded no practical results, said: 'The Council of the League of Nations has, indeed, shown considerable activity in the field of preliminary preparation (for reduction of armaments) and the material which it has brought together is sufficient to allow of the nations taking action upon it, if they were ready to act. But the more they are brought face to face with the difficulties of the problem the more they seem to hesitate, and so long as this question is regarded merely from the political point of view, nations will lack the moral courage by which alone so great a revolution in human affairs and human outlook, as will be that of universal disarmament, can be carried through.'

The refusal of the nations to disarm was regarded by the Prague conferees as a challenge to the churches. They said:

'It is here that the Christian churches will find a field of action. It is in this relation that they may help the nations by reminding them of the solemnity of international understandings. The honor due to the man who "swaureth to his neighbor and disappointeth him not though it be to his own hindrance" is equally due

to the nation which adheres strictly to its treaty obligations, whatever be the consequences.

'As already stated, one of the chief obstacles in the way of general disarmament is that the majority of men have no assurance that they may not become again engulfed in war and find themselves defenseless. It is this consideration that has caused the League of Nations at Geneva to vacillate so often between debates on "disarmament" and schemes for "security." There is little doubt that anything which increases the sense of security will render more easy the attaining of disarmament.

'In this respect a great deal has already been attained. The Covenant of the League goes far toward ensuring peace, and the various schemes for mutual assistance drawn up by successive assemblies of the League are proof of an intention on the part of statesmen to make the Covenant a complete preventive of war. Moreover, the treaties of Locarno compel the signatory nations to accept pacific methods of settling every dispute between them. And lastly, the acceptance of the multilateral treaty proposed by the United States of America, by which the nations renounce war as an instrument of their national policy in their relations with one another, makes the reduction of armaments still more feasible and immediate action in that direction still more imperative.

'The Christian churches are under obligation to support all these efforts to advance the cause of peace, since the gospel of Jesus Christ requires them to preach the brotherhood of man, the reign of justice, and the power of love in all human relations. They should urge the nations to rely upon the power of the Spirit rather than upon the sword in the settlement of differences; to have

confidence in each other; and to subordinate their own national interests to the wider interests of humanity. They should throw all their influence and spiritual aspiration into an intense effort to create a new public opinion — an opinion which will render possible the universal acceptance of international law in place of war, immediate reduction of all armaments, and a general international control over arms of all kinds in all countries of the world.'

The following resolution was then adopted by the conference: 'This Conference, assembled at Prague in August 1928 under the auspices of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, appeals to the Christian churches to bring before their people the foregoing considerations and to represent to them the solemn obligations that all nations, forming part of the League of Nations, are under to reduce and limit their armed forces as provided by the Covenant, and to accept an universal system whereby disputes shall be settled by peaceful judicial methods in lieu of war; and it calls upon the churches to use their moral influence with the League of Nations and their respective governments to induce them to complete, with all despatch, the international arrangements necessary for this purpose. The conference earnestly requests the churches to throw the weight of their educative influence and of their religious inspiration into supporting the idea that henceforth the peoples, by accepting the bonds of their fraternal unity and the mutual compacts of concerted collaboration, should renounce their claim to unrestricted right of action regardless of international obligations. The churches of Jesus Christ must accept as their primary obligation the commandment of their common Master: "Seek ye *first* the kingdom of God."'

The eighth International Conference of the World Alliance, held at Cambridge in 1931, made several significant declarations of policy on such pressing world problems as disarmament, the rights of conscience, and the political reorganization of Europe. This conference was attended by churchmen from Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Canada, Danzig, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Italy, India, Japan, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in a word of greeting to the conference, said: 'It is plain that so long as a spirit of jealousy, suspicion, mistrust and fear exists among the nations, conventions, treaties and pacts, valuable as they are, cannot of themselves create the sense of security on which stable peace depends. Nothing ultimately can do this but the incoming in greater strength of a true spirit of mutual understanding, trust and fellowship. What is this but the spirit of Christ? In the great society which bears his name this spirit should be so strong that it may spread as a saving leaven among the peoples of the world. It is good that Christian citizens of divers nations should meet together to realize among themselves that sense of a brotherhood transcending national distinctions which is the true foundation of peace.'

The World Disarmament Conference was in the offing when the World Alliance met at Cambridge. In solemn manner and with unanimous assent this world gathering of churchmen adopted a 'Message on Disarmament' from which the following is taken:

'This International Council of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches . . . asserts that war considered as an institution for

the settlement of international disputes is incompatible with the mind and method of his church.

'The International Council therefore welcomes the fact that the League of Nations has summoned a world disarmament conference, and declares that it is the duty of all churches to bring their utmost influence to bear upon that conference so that the representatives of the nations there assembled may know that the religious and moral forces of the world demand such an international agreement as will bring about (1) a substantial reduction of armaments in every form, (2) the fixing of a scale for the armed forces of the nations which shall be equitable for all and consistent with the fact that they have renounced war and have undertaken that any disputes which may arise among them shall never be settled except by pacific means, and (3) security for all nations against aggression.

'The International Council holds that in the world of today the churches can countenance no other methods of settling international disputes than conciliation, arbitration or judicial decision, and that the true way to the abandonment of all instruments of war lies in the development of a system of international justice, the growth of mutual respect and confidence, and willingness to make national sacrifices for the common good.

'The International Council appeals to the Christian churches in all lands to assure their national governments that they will actively support them in this task of reducing armaments to the lowest point, and urges all members of the Christian communities to give themselves to private and public prayer that the forthcoming Disarmament Conference may under the Divine guidance achieve all desired results.'

It was further recommended 'that the executive be charged to take all possible steps to make the foregoing resolution effective, and to organize an intensive campaign through the churches whereby they may be led to act with energy both before and during the sittings of the Disarmament Conference.' Here were churchmen representing religious organizations in nations that had fought one another in the World War unanimously agreeing that 'war considered as an institution for the settlement of international disputes is incompatible with the mind and method of Christ and therefore is incompatible with the mind and methods of his church.'

The question of the possible political and economic reorganization of Europe was being discussed in the chancelleries of the continent during the summer of 1931 and the World Alliance congratulated 'the European states upon having agreed to examine the conditions in which the plan in question might be realized' and expressed the hope 'that these efforts will result in the reestablishment of normal economic life disorganized by fifty-two months of warfare, through the building up on a basis of law and justice for all, of a Europe which would then become a powerful element of world peace.'

As in America, so in other lands, churchmen are coming to the defense of those having conscientious scruples against participation in war and in preparations for war. The World Alliance, accordingly, at its Cambridge meeting, said: 'In view of the fact that several conscientious objectors are still sentenced to long and hard imprisonment in certain countries where military service is compulsory, the International Council of the World Alliance earnestly urges the different National Councils to take such steps as in their respective Parliaments might further

the passing of a bill which will enable conscientious objectors to do other valuable service to their country, as has already been the case for many years in the three Scandinavian states.'

When the management committee of the World Alliance met at Geneva in the summer of 1932 the World Disarmament Conference had temporarily suspended its general discussions and the committee accordingly expressed 'with deep sorrow the feeling of bitter disillusionment throughout Christendom in face of the fact that the Disarmament Conference has not yet reached any satisfactory result in spite of discussions which have lasted for six months.' The conviction was expressed 'that a failure of this conference would inflict terrible injury not only upon international trade and international peace but also upon the churches and their work.' The committee then continued: 'It insists that in order to obtain a permanent solution of the problem of disarmament it is necessary, first, to accept the principle that all states concerned shall be considered as having equal rights and responsibilities and secondly, to extend the provisions for preventing by mutual conference and other available peaceful means a breach of the peace and thus building up a system of moral guarantees for security which must prove irresistible. It recognizes, however, that the said draft resolution is a step toward attaining reduction when the conference reassembles, and therefore it appeals to the churches to arouse public opinion in each country in support of an immediate substantial reduction of armaments and request the National Councils of the World Alliance, by every means in their power, to urge their own governments and their representatives at the Disarmament Conference that they carry forward without delay the proposals in the draft resolution, especially that part providing for an im-

mediate and substantial cut in both armaments and budgets so that it may become a really effective instrument for the reduction of armaments.'

The question of the traffic in arms is engaging the attention of churchmen in other lands. The World Alliance, at its Geneva meeting, adopted the following statement on this question: 'The management committee of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, having learned with grave concern that munitions of war had been supplied to nations engaged in active hostilities, protests strongly against the export of munitions to any country which, being a member of the League of Nations, has resorted to the use of arms before submitting the matter in dispute to the arbitration of the League, in accordance with the Covenant of the League. It requests the National Councils to urge their governments to use all the means in their power to secure the rigorous international control of the private manufacture of armaments and all traffic in arms and munitions.'

Another year elapsed and the World Alliance at its 1933 meeting at Sofia, Bulgaria, expressed once more its grave concern over the failure of the World Disarmament Conference to negotiate a disarmament treaty. In September 1933 a message sent by the executive of the World Alliance to the National Councils called upon the Christian people of the world to stand firm in their faith that a way could yet be found to reduce the competitive military establishments of the world. The following quotations are taken from this truly remarkable message: 'At a time when people are declaring that the conference has failed and that there is nothing left to the nations but to fall back upon the old competition in armaments and the old struggle for military supremacy, those who believe in a higher destiny for mankind than recurrent epochs of

mutual slaughter must not lose courage at what appears at first to be a defeat. Above all the churches must never admit that they are vanquished, or that the foundation on which they build is other than indestructible. The executive thinks it desirable that all the National Councils should give serious consideration to the present situation in relation to disarmament and make themselves acquainted with the practical aspects of the problem. They will then be able to direct the minds and energies of Christians along practical lines and concentrate the whole force of the churches upon such efforts as may reasonably be expected to succeed.'

The Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work created a Continuation Committee in 1925 through which a large section of the Christian thinking people of the various countries have supplemented the peace program of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches. The Continuation Committee, subsequently reorganized as the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, provides the churches with a medium through which they are able to express their convictions on a wide variety of subjects, including peace.

One of the first questions brought to the attention of this world-wide interchurch organization was that of war guilt. The Continuation Committee, at its Berne meeting in 1926, in response to a communication from the German churchmen who had attended the Stockholm Conference, said:

'The Continuation Committee fervently desires to bind again the bonds which unite the different families of Christendom. It declares that Christians united in the communion of Jesus Christ do not make their mutual attitude dependent on official declarations recorded in diplomatic documents. In our religious assemblies

of Christians individuals enjoy the same liberty, the same respect and the same confidence as they share in the common bread at the table of the Lord in order to become one body.

'The Continuation Committee therefore desires to bring into full light this supernatural fact that in our international reunions the cause of the Church of Jesus Christ, one and indivisible, becomes our common cause, a cause which cannot be interpreted as the cause of any particular state.

'In accordance with these principles, in which it solemnly renews the spirit of our Father, the Continuation Committee is glad to pronounce a brotherly word of peace which can scatter misunderstanding and heal moral wounds.

'Although it abstains from dealing with any purely political issue, the Continuation Committee recognizes that the purpose of the Stockholm Conference, the work of which it is continuing, involves certain common moral affirmations, fundamental axiomatic truths of the kingdom of God. In accordance with these principles it on this occasion asserts without hesitation—that truth must take first place, and that no interest, personal or social, should be opposed to it; that respect for the pledged word should inspire governments even as individuals; that the right cannot be determined by war; that no final moral judgment is necessarily established in political instruments; that any confession imposed by force in any domain whatsoever remains without moral value and religious virtue.

'It declares as desirable that by all possible means of investigation, and without any restriction, all the responsibilities concerning the outbreak and the conduct of the war should be brought to light, in order that

on these events there may be cast a sufficiently bright light to bring about universal agreement.

‘Finally, realizing the wounds inflicted on the Body of Christ by this war waged against one another by Christian nations, the Continuation Committee urges as a paramount duty of the Christian churches the proclamation of the magnanimity of God in the forgiveness of sin, the reconciliation of the world to himself in Christ and his cross, in order that the same Spirit may, so transform the relations of the nations within Christendom toward one another that such a question as that with which the Continuation Committee has found itself under the necessity of dealing may never again arise.’

While the politicians, diplomats and historians were engaged in bitter debate regarding the guilt question the churchmen of France, Germany and other nations, while determined to probe all of the relevant facts, were at the same time rejoicing in a fellowship of forgiveness and of reconciliation.

One of the most significant of the anti-war utterances of Christian groups of other lands was that agreed to by the Stockholm Continuation Committee at its Eisenach meeting in 1929. The Lord Bishop of Chichester presented the resolution, which reads as follows:

‘1. We whole-heartedly welcome the solemn declaration made by the leading statesmen of the world in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another, and agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

'2. We believe that war, considered as an institution for the settlement of international disputes, is incompatible with the mind and method of Christ, and therefore incompatible with the mind and method of his church.

'3. While convinced that the time must come for the revision of existing treaties in the interests of peace, we maintain that all disputes and conflicts between nations, for which no solution can be found through diplomacy or conciliation, ought to be settled or solved through arbitration, whether by the World Court or by some other tribunal mutually agreed.

'4. We, therefore, earnestly appeal to the respective authorities of all Christian communions to declare in unmistakable terms that they will not countenance any war or encourage their countrymen to serve in any war, with regard to which the government of their country has refused an offer to submit the dispute to arbitration.'

This resolution with a few minor changes was subsequently approved by the management committee of the World Alliance and by the Lambeth Conference.

As in the case of the World Alliance, the Universal Christian Council, at its Cambridge meeting in 1931, called upon the nations soon to gather at Geneva, to effect a genuine and drastic reduction of armaments. The council's resolution 'urges the churches represented to give themselves earnestly to prayer for the divine guidance of the conference, so that the delegates may be led to wise and righteous decisions; to the presentation of such petitions to their governments as the special circumstances of their countries may demand, and to exercise their influence on their governments in all possible ways toward securing action in support of such reduction of armaments as shall promote the peace of the world. . . .'

The Universal Christian Council, at Cambridge, adopted still another declaration on disarmament from which the following is taken:

'In the name of Jesus Christ the council addresses itself first of all to Christianity. It urges the great traditional churches to intensify their work of education and warning, whether through religious instruction, preaching or theological teaching, in order that Christians may more and more turn their eyes toward new horizons and accept the tasks laid upon them in the fields of political, social and civic work. "Render unto God the things that are God's," such is the highest duty today for the conscience of the followers of Christ.

'The disquieting economic crisis which is sweeping through the world is a decisive warning. Unless the world succeeds in turning toward a common goal and uniting in a common effort the immense forces which are struggling together in the social storm and setting the nations at variance with each other; unless it decides to abandon the present economic régime, which is the result of the war, and to substitute for it a régime which is the issue of peace, the entire work of civilization will be threatened with shipwreck.

'Therefore, let the teachers of the young, both in the family and in the school, all the ministers who have the care of souls, all the congregations assembled for worship, and finally all Christians in their private prayers, work together in intercession for the success of the Disarmament Conference.

'The Christian Council, addressing itself to the Disarmament Conference, desires to convey to it a message of confidence; it knows that it will not confine itself to a negative proscription of war, but will proceed to a positive organization of peace.

'It therefore begs the conference, to bring about an effective reduction of armaments on land, on sea and in the air in accordance with the letter and spirit of the League of Nations.

'In thus defining its attitude, the Christian Council is acting in the spirit of him who is the predestined leader of humanity, in the spirit of him who said: "I come not to be ministered unto, but to minister." The Christian Council assures the Disarmament Conference of the fervent sympathy of the great churches which it represents, and does not doubt that the members of that historic conference, being thus surrounded by a spiritual atmosphere, will be supported by the coöperation of a thinking, generous and courageous public opinion.'

A year later, at Geneva, the Universal Christian Council expressed 'its grave dissatisfaction with the present achievements of the Disarmament Conference' and declared that 'it would be not only a disaster to the peace of the world, but also a scandal to the conscience of mankind, if the conference were to end without effective results and only with a superficial compromise or a merely pretended solution.'

The development of determined attitudes of international comity and good will among the churches of the world is a process that is a bit intangible and difficult to rationalize. Nevertheless, the various documents of the World Alliance and the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work recording pronouncements of the various communions on the subject of war is a fair indication of what is happening in the thinking of the churches. The World Alliance, with its thirty-two national councils, and the Universal Christian Council, with its various sections comprising the leadership of the churches of every land, may be said to have given unprecedented emphasis to the

utter incompatibility of the Christian gospel and the war system. Not for centuries have the churches of the world been so unanimous in their conviction that they who take the sword will perish by the sword. It would take more space than is here available to describe in detail the activity of the World Alliance Councils in each land. Suffice it to say that the organization was not only the first one to bring together representatives of France and Germany after the World War in meetings which finally resulted in the creation of the Universal Christian Council, but it is now bringing together in Europe those who find themselves on opposite sides of some of the most critical international issues, such as the revision of the Versailles Treaty and the rectification of frontiers.⁶

There is a wide variation, to be sure, in the extent to which the churches in European countries are able or willing to go in their opposition to war. In England there is much greater freedom for expression of the complete pacifist view and many very prominent church leaders are known to hold that the Christian can under no circumstances participate in war. For example, the *Methodist Times and Leader* of England has recently recorded the action of 600 ministers who, in taking membership in the Methodist Peace Fellowship, declared that they were determined 'to renounce war and all its ways and works, now and always, God being our helper.' They further state: 'We take this step because we believe that war is contrary to the spirit, teaching and purpose of Jesus Christ our Lord, who, in life and death, faced the world with unflinching and unyielding goodness, and through the cross opened the way of reconciliation. We believe, therefore, that his kingdom by its nature and quality requires that fellowship and reason should replace enmity and violence in every human relationship. In unison with other Chris-

tians we will serve, actively and gladly, the cause of peace on earth. We know that the resources of human nature are not sufficient for the fulfillment of this our covenant, but we believe that we can do all things in Christ who strengthens us.' ⁸ The Reverend Henry Carter, chairman of the Methodist Peace Fellowship, reports that similar fellowships exist in the Congregational and Presbyterian churches and that discussions looking toward the establishment of the fellowship in other churches are now in progress. Dr. Carter further declares 'that all the various Christian movements, accepting a basis which might be described as constructive pacifism, are working in unison.' ⁸

Three hundred and fifty members of Carr's Lane Church, in Birmingham, whose pastor is Dr. Leyton Richards, are said to have agreed to the following: 'Believing that we are called by our understanding of Christ to an unreserved abstention from war and to a complete dedication to peace, as the only true defense of our most treasured loyalties and loves, we covenant together before God, praying that in the day of calm we may win others, and in the time of storm we may stand firm. . . .' ⁹

The more radical pacifist churchmen of Europe are represented in what is known as the International Union of Antimilitarist Ministers and Clergymen. The Zurich Congress begged all church assemblies, clergy, ministers and members of the churches ' (1) to confess before God our common guilt for the conditions of strife among the nations, which involve all mankind in evil and threaten ever increasing calamity; (2) to reflect that if they do not refuse immediately to sanction war and war preparation they will help to produce a catastrophe which will surely sweep into the abyss all human civilization, themselves and all that their efforts have built up; (3) fearlessly to

make known, even to the governments, the will of Jesus Christ, which in no circumstances permits the crime of war, and to do so especially in view of the Disarmament Conference next year; (4) to seek, across all national barriers, a community of faith that will be able to conquer all dividing forces, and so to encourage one another; (5) to accept cheerfully, for God's sake, all the difficulties, attacks and suffering which striving for peace may bring.' ¹⁰

With the World Disarmament Conference in the offing the Zurich Congress adopted a statement addressed to the delegates of the nations about to assemble at Geneva. The following is taken from this statement: 'Convinced that war is in direct contradiction to the principles of the gospel and that another world war would destroy every form of human and Christian culture; that therefore the Christian churches must absolutely refuse all support to war, therefore, with all earnestness, which constrains us as servants of Jesus Christ, we beg the representatives of the nations assembled at the Disarmament Conference: (1) to recognize the present hour as critical for the future history of humanity, to bear in mind their responsibility to God, the Lord of history, and to submit themselves to the influence of the Spirit of Christ; (2) to hold resolutely to the way of disarmament and the absolute outlawry of war and to set themselves heart and soul to the task of replacing brute force once and for all with justice in settling international disputes; (3) to break entirely from the belief that force of arms can guarantee security and to accept the risk of that faith which alone can guarantee peace; (4) to be willing to make the sacrifice which every footstep on this road involves, firmly resolved to put an end to war, on which rests the curse of God.' ¹¹

Elsewhere the picture of Christian pacifism is painted

in softer hues. While there is a very strong and active peace sentiment among the churches in many local communities in France, it can hardly be said that the Christian crusade for a warless world has made such progress in that country. It should be remembered, however, that in France there are fewer than 7,000,000 active Roman Catholic Christians and about 1,000,000 Protestant Christians in a country of 40,000,000 population. Obviously, even a very strong movement making for peace would be relatively weak in the face of the vast majority who take little if any stock in Christian points of view.

So many of the causes of war are obscure and the ways to peace so little known that it has devolved upon the research departments of the various churches and international Christian organizations to examine with care the economic and social elements conditioning international peace. The Universal Christian Council's research department has held important conferences at Berne in 1932 and at Rengsdorf in 1933 for the purpose of collating and analyzing the findings of various national Christian conferences with respect to the present world situation. This research work has brought the leaders of the churches into close touch with the activities of the International Labor Office and with certain departments of the League of Nations.

The Lambeth Conference of 1930 was the largest assembly of Anglican bishops ever held. The 308 bishops who attended this ecumenical gathering were outspoken in their demand that the nations arbitrate their differences and abandon their mailed fist policies.

"War, as a method of settling international disputes," declares one of the official reports submitted to the conference, 'is incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ. We believe that as the Chris-

tian conscience has condemned infanticide and slavery and torture, it is now called to condemn war as an outrage on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of all mankind. We do not deny the right of a nation to defend itself if attacked, or to resort to force in fulfillment of international obligations, but it is the duty of the Christian church to create a world-wide public opinion which will condemn a nation that resorts to war from a motive of self-interest or a mistaken conception of honor as guilty of a crime against humanity.'

The Anglican bishops who signed the report dealing with peace and war described the League of Nations as 'an indispensable organ of international coöperation.' 'No nation can, without shame and dishonor,' they said, 'treat its adherence to the Kellogg-Briand pact, or its pledge to submit all disputes to arbitration, as a "scrap of paper."' The highest patriotism may rightly be concerned with its country's honor in this respect, and make every effort to insure that it remains true to its plighted word. It is on public opinion that statesmen must depend, and the Christian church, as the trustee of the peace of the world, must guard with constant vigilance against any slackening of the will to peace, and call into coöperation for this purpose all the forces of moral idealism that are available outside its borders.'

The pagan conception of patriotism, 'My country, right or wrong,' was denounced by the members of the Committee on the Life and Witness of the Christian Community. 'Great as is the debt of service that a man owes to his fatherland,' they said, 'the claim of Christ remains supreme, and the state can only demand the whole-hearted loyalty of its citizens when its action is guided by the same moral principles as the private citizen is taught to apply in his relations with his neighbors. . . .

If the Christian church in every nation could refuse to countenance or support a declaration of war by its own government unless that government had inaugurated or accepted a bona fide offer to submit the dispute to arbitration, it, would be doing no more than insisting on the fulfillment of pledges solemnly made.'

The committee listed among the causes of war 'the inflamed and aggressive nationalism that ignores the rights of other nations in the determination to assert its own'; 'the fear that is the outcome of distrust'; and 'competition for the control of the raw materials of industry.'

Using this report as the text of its deliberations the Lambeth Conference adopted a number of resolutions from which the following is taken:

'The conference affirms that war as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord Jesus Christ.'

'The conference . . . appeals to the religious leaders of all nations to give their support to the effort to promote those ideals of peace, brotherhood and justice for which the League of Nations stands.'

'When nations have solemnly bound themselves by treaty, covenant or pact for the pacific settlement of international disputes, the conference holds that the Christian church in every nation should refuse to countenance any war in regard to which the government of its own country has not declared its willingness to submit the matter in dispute to arbitration or conciliation.'

'The Conference believes that the existence of armaments on the present scale amongst the nations of the world endangers the maintenance of peace, and appeals for a determined effort to secure further reduction by international agreement.'

'While there is in many countries an increasing desire for justice and therefore a growing will to peace, the world is still faced with grave social and economic ills which are an offense to the Christian conscience, and a menace to peace. All these evils call for the best scientific treatment on international lines and also for a practical application of the principle of united service and self-sacrifice on the part of all Christian people.'

The Encyclical letter, transmitted to the Episcopal church of all lands and subsequently read before thousands of Episcopal congregations, said in part: '. . . the church should take the lead. For the Christian must condemn war not merely because it is wasteful and ruinous, a cause of untold misery, but far more because it is contrary to the will of God. . . . Only when we witness always and everywhere to his principles and rely upon his power, can we obtain from him those gifts of truth and righteousness and love, of which peace is the perfect fruit.'

The Lambeth Conference in the light of the foregoing must be recorded as giving distinct stimulus to peace thinking. It was the Lord Bishop of Chichester, the vigorous secretary of this conference and chairman of the Universal Christian Council, who presented to his colleagues at Lambeth the resolution known as the Eisenach agreement, which affirmed that the churches should refuse support to any government which engaged in international war without first having submitted, or agreed to submit, the dispute to arbitration.

Still other ecumenical gatherings of the Christians of various communions have been concerned with the problem of peace and war. The Right Honorable David Lloyd George, former British Premier, in addressing the International Congregational Council held at Bournemouth in 1930, said: 'The churches must take the affairs

of the world in hand. They must teach brotherhood once more to men of every race and clime.' They must give them the wisdom which is from above, and then and only then will there be peace on earth and good will among men.' The International Congregational Council, in a formal Address to All Congregational Churches, said in part: 'We were told by one of the foremost British statesmen that conferences and treaties and pacts and governments would not avail to stop war. The only thing that would banish war, he said, was a change of spirit, and that change of spirit could only be brought about by the Christian church with its gospel.' We believe that was a true word. We would therefore urge upon our churches the necessity of thinking peace and speaking peace, and earnestly supporting the policies which will establish the peace of the world on a secure basis. It is the business of the Christian church to bring peace on earth by creating the men of good will.'

It was also agreed at Bournemouth to send a special call to 'the people of the Congregational churches' in these terms: 'We call upon each person individually in the sight of God to examine his life to see if there be not some way of sacrifice for him by which he may personally strengthen humanity's stand against war. As a council we declare our unswerving allegiance to the peace pact of Paris. Under the law by it brought into existence we hold war to be illegal. We will therefore give support to the statesmen who base their policies upon that pact, and withhold it from those who disparage it. And we pray especially that our young men and women may hear this call and declaration, since to them belongs the future.'

The International Conference of the Society of Friends, which convened in Paris in 1931, affirmed that 'in considering the world situation, we are brought with special

urgency at this moment to the problem of disarmament. Recognizing that armaments are in part both evidence and cause of that sense of fear and insecurity which is the basis of the present crisis, we share the conviction that their drastic reduction would go far to secure the economic recovery of the world. For the ultimate solution of this problem, we look to the growth of the spirit and practice of coöperation and the development of international institutions, believing that, in this process, armaments will become obsolete and complete disarmament an inevitable reality. Yet we would lay emphasis on the significance of the World Conference of 1932, when the first direct assault on the armaments of all nations will be made in Geneva. Without immediate respite from the menace of future war which unrestricted armaments involve, without relief from the spiritual and economic burdens which they impose, the healing forces of reconciliation and the unifying processes of international coöperation will not be given a chance to lead us into that condition from which all occasion for war or armaments will be removed. We therefore look to the forthcoming conference to disregard the pressure of armament interest and to secure drastic curtailment of armed preparation.'

This conference further declared that 'all war, and all the symbols and instruments of war, are incompatible with our religious faith and with the essential standards of a sensible civilization.'

The Sixth Ecumenical Conference of the Methodist church, which was held at Atlanta, Georgia, in 1931, in a message to the members of this communion throughout the world said: 'The church should educate for peace; it should talk peace; it should think peace! The war psychology is here, and only a determined will for peace can change it! War must go, or civilization goes!' This

peace proclamation of the world's Methodists goes on to say: 'War still threatens. The world has set up a great technique for peace. The League of Nations, the World Court, the Kellogg-Briand pact to outlaw war are successive steps to bring peace on earth. The church ought to give its support to every effort of statesmen in behalf of peace, and it ought to keep ever before the citizens of its nation the solemn obligation to disarm, assumed by each of the allied nations, when Germany was forced to disarm. The immediate task of the Methodist and every other church is to assure the nations' representatives at the Geneva Conference in February that the peoples of this world will back them in every effort and plan for disarmament. We rejoice that political leaders of the world are beginning to see that there are injustices in the treaty which ended the Great War, and that there ought to be some readjustment of war debts. It is difficult to see how any nation which forever renounces war as national policy can deny citizenship to any man, otherwise fit, who must inquire of God and his conscience whether a war is just before he will take up arms.'

The Atlanta conference insisted that a way be found to reduce the world's armaments. 'The Sixth Ecumenical Conference of the Methodist church, representing fifty million adherents throughout the world, would stress the importance in the interests of a lasting peace, of the relief of economic distress, and of the furtherance of the ideals of the kingdom of God, of a successful issue to the forthcoming Disarmament Conference to be held in Geneva in February, 1932,' the resolution says. 'All other considerations apart, this conference holds that the Treaty of Versailles pledged the nations to a policy of general disarmament and that the limitation of German armaments therein contained was imposed in order to

make a beginning in this general policy, and should now be carried out to its due conclusion. The Ecumenical Conference would therefore call upon all Methodists in every land not only to pray constantly for the success of the Disarmament Conference, but to use their utmost influence to bring before the statesmen of their respective nations the paramount importance of the issues involved.'

The Methodists were not content with generalizations: They spoke their mind upon a wide variety of current world problems:

'Our national destinies are now so interrelated that no nation can live to itself alone. The Christian perspective goes beyond the old frontiers and includes all nations in its outlook. We believe that no way of life is adequate for the new day of internationalism save Jesus' way of love, the way of mutual understanding, mutual respect, mutual sympathy and mutual aid. Such an attitude calls for a reconsideration of certain national and international policies. Therefore, we recommend:

'The nations should call together an international conference on the questions of currency and tariffs in order to stabilize the medium of exchange and to facilitate the flow of goods among the markets of the world.

'There should be a reconsideration of the whole question of debts and reparations in the light both of the justice of the case and the effects of such abnormal financial arrangements upon the mercantile integrity of the whole world.

'There should be a radical program of disarmament in the interest of international security and the prevention of economic waste, based upon mutual agreements between the nations and posited upon the Pact of Paris.

'The Pact of Paris renouncing war as an instrument

of national policy should be made basic to all international dealings. This means a new diplomacy based on genuine international fraternity, and includes such revision of the Covenant of the League of Nations as will make it consonant with the pact. Whatever new implementing machinery for peace is needed, such as the codification of international law, should be at once begun."

It was recommended further by the Atlanta conference 'that effective steps be taken to impress upon the teachers and writers of history in all countries the necessity of assembling and presenting facts about all countries in a dispassionate manner and with every effort to avoid bias. It is not the truth about all nations that endangers co-operation. Misunderstandings and untruths create perils. A similar educational endeavor might be able to protect the world against the damaging effects of misstatements in international radio programs, and of misrepresentations in the cinema and on the stage. . . . We believe that all disputes between nations ought to be settled by judicial processes. War should be made a public crime under the law of nations. The business of the church is to put the war business out of business. Local congregations should produce and promote the spirit of brotherhood among all nations. Increasingly the hymns and other music of the church should emphasize world brotherhood and good will. By constantly implanting the gospel which magnifies the spirit and program of Jesus, by forming public opinion through Sunday school, the press, educational institutions and agencies, and by direct political action when absolutely necessary, the church shall lead the world in the direction of peace and disarmament.'

The Methodists of every land were urged at Atlanta to give their prayerful support 'to those organizations

which exist to promote universal good will and right understanding, including the World Court, the League of Nations, the International Missionary Council, the World Alliance for the Promotion of International Friendship through the Churches, the Federal Council of Christian Churches in America, the Christian Social Council of Great Britain and Ireland, the Life and Work Continuation Committee of the Stockholm Conference of 1925.'

From quite another angle, the International Missionary Council has been directly and indirectly an aid to this world-wide process of developing attitudes which tend to insure peace. Its two most recent meetings, those at Jerusalem in 1928 and at Heernhut in 1932, dealt with a wide variety of subjects bearing directly upon the problem of peace. Its constituent bodies, such as the National Christian Councils of China and Japan, have taken a vigorous part in attempts at international conciliation. Repeated delegations have been sent, for example, by the Chinese and Japanese Christians to confer over the questions at issue between their respective countries. While this has not prevented resort to military violence it at least marks a step forward and shows that there is a strong will to peace in circles where the church has influence.

The International Missionary Council at its Jerusalem meeting (1928) summoned all who share in the world-wide missionary enterprise 'to unremitting prayer and effort to secure the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy; the adoption of peaceful methods for the settlement of all international differences; and the changing of those attitudes and practices which constitute the roots of war.' The Jerusalem Conference, observing that missionaries 'have generally relied upon the good will of the people among whom they live and the protec-

tion of the government of the locality for the protection of their lives and property; and inasmuch as missionaries, both as individuals and in groups, and several missionary societies have asked that steps be taken to make plain that they do not depend upon or desire the protection of foreign military forces in the country of their residence; and inasmuch as the use or the threat of the armed forces of the country from which they come for the protection of the missionary and missionary property not only creates widespread misunderstanding as to the underlying motive of missionary work, but also gravely hinders the acceptance of the Christian message,' placed on record its conviction 'that the protection of missionaries should be only by such methods as will promote good will in personal and official relations, and urges upon all missionary societies that they should make no claim on their governments for the armed defense of their missionaries and their property.'

It will not be amiss, at this point, to quote from the peace statements of recent Popes: ¹²

'There never would arise a sure hope of lasting peace among the peoples of the world as long as individuals and nations continued to deny or refused to acknowledge the rule of Christ our Savior. . . . Manifestly the vaster the kingdom of Christ and the more widely it embraces mankind, so much the more will men become conscious of the bond of brotherhood which unites them one with another. As the consciousness of brotherhood banishes conflicts, so, too, it softens bitter feelings and turns them into feelings of love. If the kingdom of Christ, which *de jure* embraces all men, should in fact embrace all, would we then despair of that peace which the King of Peace brought to earth?' ¹³

'The fundamental point must be that the moral

force of right must be substituted for the material force of arms.' ¹⁴

'Every kind of peace is unstable, all treaties are inefficacious in spite of the long and laborious negotiations of the authors and in spite of the sacred character of the seals, as long as a reconciliation inspired by mutual charity does not put an end to hatred and enmity.' ¹⁵

'Consequent upon the repudiation of those Christian principles which had contributed so efficaciously to unite the nations in the bonds of brotherhood and to bring all humanity into one great family, there has arisen little by little, in the international order, a system of jealous egoism, in consequence of which the nations now watch each other, if not with hate, at least with the suspicion of rivals. Hence, in their great undertakings they lose sight of the lofty principles of morality and justice and forget the protection which the feeble and the oppressed have a right to demand.' ¹⁶

'Love of the country becomes merely an occasion, an added incentive to grave injustice when true love of country is debased to the condition of an extreme nationalism, when we forget that all men are our brothers and members of the same great human family, that other nations have an equal right with us both to life and to prosperity.' ¹⁷

'When all will be restored according to the order prescribed by justice and charity and nations will be reconciled, it is most desirable that all states, putting aside all their mutual suspicions, unite to form only one society, or even better, one family, both for the defense of their respective liberties and the maintenance of the social order.' ¹⁸

'This society of nations answers—not to mention a multitude of other considerations—the generally

acknowledged necessity of making every effort to suppress or reduce military budgets of which the states cannot much longer bear the crushing burden; to render impossible, for the future, wars so disastrous, or at least to remove the menace of them as far as possible; and to insure to each nation, within the limits of its legitimate boundaries, its independence as well as the integrity of its territory.' ¹⁹

'There is need of a fair agreement among all to reduce armaments simultaneously and mutually, according to the rules and guarantees to be established, in the measure necessary and sufficient for the maintenance of public order in each state.' ²⁰

'For the Holy See, the only system which is practical and which, further, could be applied easily with a little good will on both sides, would be the following: to suppress, by a common agreement, among civilized nations, compulsory military service.' ²¹

'... As a substitute for armies, the institution of arbitration, with its high office as peacemaker, according to norms to be agreed upon and sanctions to be determined against a state which would refuse either to submit international questions to arbitration or accept its decisions.' ²²

'There exists an institution able to safeguard the sanctity of the law of nations. This institution is a part of every nation; at the same time it is above all nations. She enjoys too the highest authority, the fullness of the teaching power of the Apostles. Such an institution is the Church of Christ. She alone is adapted to do this great work, for she is not only divinely commissioned to lead mankind, but moreover, because of her very make-up and the constitution which she possesses, by reason of her age-old traditions and her great pres-

tige, which has not been lessened but has been greatly increased since the close of war, she cannot but succeed in such a venture where others assuredly will fail.' ²³

From a practical standpoint it may be said that the Christian forces of the various nations are learning the art of working together in the interest of peace. The World Alliance and the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work bring the Christian leaders of many lands into continuous collaboration for the working out of a co-operative program of peace endeavor. The administration of the international work of the World Alliance has been brought together in Geneva. Together with the Life and Work Movement and other international religious agencies, the World Alliance is sharing office and secretarial services. The alliance and the Universal Christian Council have instituted a special commission on peace education having the following aims: a uniform method of dealing with obvious manifestations of nationalistic propaganda in textbooks, the elimination from textbooks of all statements about other nations that have been proved to be false, the avoidance of a double standard of moral judgment between one people and another, the avoidance of general statements of an offensive nature to other nations, and the encouragement to the study of the history of other countries from a sympathetic point of view. These two bodies are alike interested in the promotion of a wide variety of peace projects such as international youth conferences, exchange of theological professors, and an international religious press service.

The general secretary of the World Alliance, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, in his 1933 report to the Church Peace Union, envisages a closely knit coördination of representative groups of Christians in strategic world centers for the prevention of war. 'By this plan,' says Dr.

Atkinson, 'there would be created a group of twenty-five to fifty people in every one of the great world centers. These people would be representative of all shades of religious thought and life. The organization would be simple, with a minimum of emphasis upon meetings to pass resolutions and a maximum amount of effort upon study of actual conditions and developments throughout the world. At any time this group could be brought together by its appointed leaders to deal with any particular problem or question that might be uppermost. For instance, should there be a threat of war between two nations a cable or telegram could be sent to the chief of each of these groups throughout the world, with the request that he call together his group for the purpose of taking such action as would indicate the mass opinion of the religious leaders and present it to its own government, and also send it to the central office where it could be relayed to other governments and given the widest possible publicity. By the use of the telegraph, the telephone and the radio, as well as the newspapers, this network of interested parties throughout the world could become a very great influence for good. . . . These same groups, after they had been called together a few times, would become accustomed to each other and at the same time would develop a degree of autonomy and initiative. Such a grouping would constitute a world-wide series of moral S.O.S. stations.'

The Christian forces of many nations have been working shoulder to shoulder for the success of the World Disarmament Conference. The Disarmament Committee of Christian International Organizations numbers in its membership the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, the World's Alliance of Young Men's Chris-

tian Associations, the World's Young Women's Christian Associations, the World Student Christian Federation, the Friends' International Service, and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. The secretary of the committee, Dr. Joachim Müller, in his memorable address before the Disarmament Conference, on February 6, 1933, stated that he had received communications calling for a drastic reduction of armaments from many organizations, such as the Federal Council of Churches, the French Protestant Church Federation, the German Church Federation, the Lambeth Conference, the National Free Church Council of England, the Swiss Evangelical Church Council, the Universal Christian Council, and a number of branches of the World Alliance. The Disarmament Committee, according to its spokesman, Dr. Müller, was broadly representative of most of the churches of the Protestant world, a large proportion of the Eastern Orthodox church, the Old Catholic church, and hundreds of agencies connected with the life of these churches in every continent.

Dr. Müller, in his address before the diplomats and statesmen gathered at the World Disarmament Conference, said, in part: 'The disastrous effects of the war and of the continued, and indeed increased, menace of armed conflict between nations upon the whole structure and content of civilization have compelled these bodies to address themselves directly to those tremendous problems which have brought you here. In general, they have done this in three ways. In the first place, deeply convinced that, after men and women have done their utmost, they must ultimately depend upon divine guidance, they have considered it their first duty to prepare for this conference by incessant prayer and to surround its deliberations with this same spirit. In the second place, they

have sought in all continents and in almost every country to stimulate those educational processes which will, on the one hand, build up an effective public opinion among the citizens of the nations in support of the great purposes to which you are committed, and, on the other hand, will produce in oncoming generations those attitudes of courage, coöperation, and understanding which alone can finally remove the futile specter of war. Of these it is impossible to give any detailed account here. In the third place, they have endeavored to confront the peoples and governments of the world with clear and unequivocal statements of Christian principle in relation to the basic issues underlying the heavy responsibility resting upon this conference.

'Clergy and laity of the Christian churches, as well as leaders of international Christian movements,' Dr. Müller continued, 'have expressed themselves in unmistakable language as advocates of a truly peaceful world based on justice and law rather than on power and violence. It is natural that the different conceptions as to the best way of working toward the goal of disarmament, which it will be your duty to harmonize, are also reflected in our midst. Not only so, but we know too well the share of Christians in the sins of war and violence to take up an attitude of pharisaism. We realize the almost superhuman difficulty and complexity of your task. But while there is diversity in our ranks about the best methods to adopt, there is unity among us as to the immediate aim of our endeavor. We are all working for a world order in which the use of armaments will be both unnecessary and unjustifiable. And we all believe that this conference can and must make important advance towards that goal.'

And more than that. Plans are under way to hold a Universal Religious Peace Conference. The Church Peace Union, in arranging for the conference, seeks to enlist the religions of the world against war and for peace. The Statement of Purpose, adopted by the Preliminary Gathering for the Conference (1928), briefly summarizes the basic reasons underlying this inter-faith attempt to curb resort to war:

'Peace is one of the loftiest positive aims of united human endeavor. Spiritual in its very nature, and implicit in the teachings of all religions, it was this aim which inspired the Church Peace Union to set on foot the movement that has now taken form in a resolve to hold a world conference of all religions. Of this conference the sole purpose will be to rouse and to direct the religious impulses of humanity against war in a constructive world-wide effort to achieve peace.

'Even as nations have been learning that no one of them suffices to itself alone, but that each needs to help and to be helped by others, so also the religions of the world will come to see that each must seek to serve and to be served in the work of peace, and to go hand in hand towards the common goal.

'Hence it was resolved that a Universal Religious Peace Conference be held, to put in motion the joint spiritual resources of mankind; and that, without attempting to commit any religious body in any way, the conference consist of devoted individuals holding, or associated with, recognized forms of religious belief.

'The Universal Conference designs neither to set up a formal league of religions, nor to compare the relative values of faith, nor to espouse any political, ecclesiastical, or theological or social system. Its specific objects

will be: to state the highest teachings of each religion on peace and the causes of war; to record the efforts of religious bodies in furtherance of peace; to devise means by which men of all religious faiths may work together to remove existing obstacles to peace; to stimulate international coöperation for peace and the triumph of right; to secure international justice, to increase good will, and thus to bring about in all the world a fuller realization of the brotherhood of men; to seek opportunities for concerted action among the adherents of all religions against the spirit of violence and the things that make for strife.'

Committees to arrange for the conference have been created in the United States, Great Britain, India, China, the Malay States, Japan and the Near East. It is reported that 2500 men and women drawn from every part of the world and representative of every one of the world's religions are identified with this movement.

It becomes increasingly apparent that the churches of the world are determined to combat the whole war system. The unholy alliance between the cross and the sword is being sundered. The churches, in the United States and elsewhere, realize that mankind will no longer pin its faith to any religious system that is helpless to stay the hand of the militarist who would drop bombs upon sleeping cities and scatter disease germs and poison gases over the face of the earth. Either religion will put an end to war or war will put an end to religion. This statement has been made time and time again but not until the full implication of this sovereign truth registers indelibly in the thinking processes of all who lift their faces Godward will any permanent advance be made in the crusade for a warless world.

NOTES ON CHAPTER VI

¹ *The Stockholm Conference on Life and Work*, 1925, p. 446, edited by G. K. A. Bell, Oxford University Press, London.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 712-713.

³ The International Christian Press and Information Service, Geneva, Nos. 11-13.

⁴ *The British Weekly*, May 17, 1934.

⁵ Issued by the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, Friends House, London.

⁶ Statement signed by H. L. van Bruggen, chairman of the Reformed Union for Real Disarmament, Holland, April 28, 1934.

⁷ *Christian Unity: Its Principles and Possibilities*, pp. 368-369, The Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, Association Press, New York.

⁸ *The Methodist Times and Leader*, England, February 8, 1934.

⁹ Nofrontier News Service, February 15, 1934.

¹⁰ *Report of the Second International Congress of Antimilitarist Ministers and Clergymen*, September, 1931, p. 43.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

¹² For a full summary of these declarations see *Peace Statements of Recent Popes*, published by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.

¹³ Pius XI — *Quas Primas*.

¹⁴ Benedict XV — Letter, August 1, 1917.

¹⁵ Benedict XV — *Pacem*.

¹⁶ Leo XIII — *Review of His Pontificate*.

¹⁷ Pius XI — *Ubi Arcano Dei*.

¹⁸ Benedict XV — *Pacem*.

¹⁹ Benedict XV — *Pacem*.

²⁰ Benedict XV — Letter, August 1, 1917.

²¹ Cardinal Gasparri — Letter to the Archbishop of Sens, October 7, 1917.

²² Benedict XV — Letter, August 1, 1917.

²³ Pius XI — *Ubi Arcano Dei*.

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